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ABSTRACT

This paper documents trends in school segregation in different geographical regions throughout the United States between 1968 and 1976. The avarage level of school segregation between whites and minorities (Asian, Hispanic, and Native Americans) declined from a level of 42 to 21 points (on a scale of 0 to 100). Most of this reduction was due to the implementation of school desegregation programs directed against the separation of black and white pupils. The decline was more pronounced in the South, in small districts, in districts located in nonmetropolitan areas, and districts that desegregated under court directives. Although the majority of pupils in 1976 were concentrated in districts that had implemented some form of desegregation program, the average minority student was still attending school in districts with segregation levels exceeding 40 points, due primarily to their concentration in large districts. (Author/WAM)

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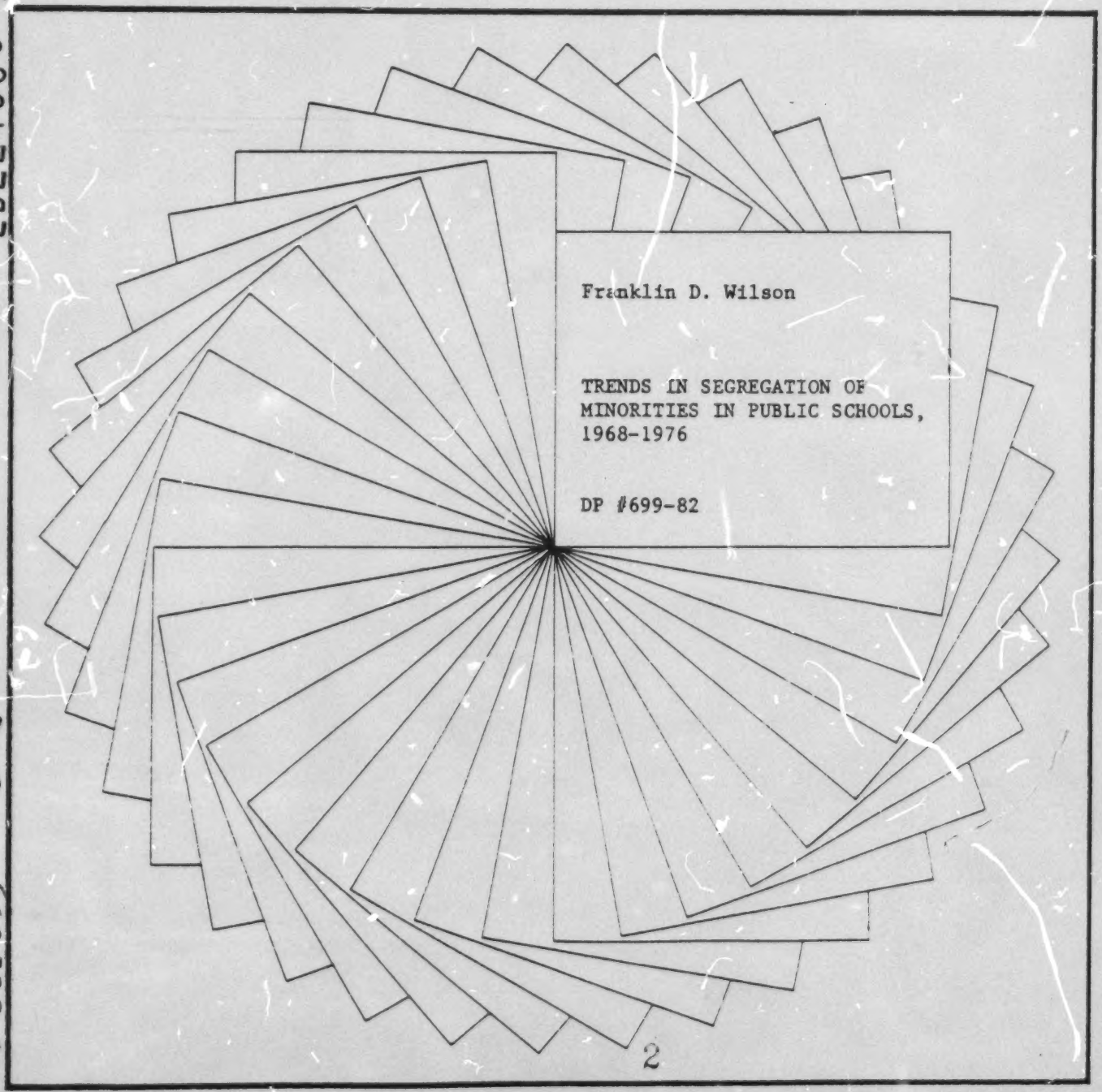

Franklin D. Wilson

TRENDS IN SEGREGATION OF MINORITIES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1968-1976

DP #699-82

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Trends in Segregation of Minorities in Public Schools, 1968-1976

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Abstract

This paper documents trends in school segregation between 1968 and 1976, a period when most school districts with significant concentrations of minorities desegregated their schools. The average level of school segregation between whites and minorities declined from a moderate level of 42 to 21 points (on a scale of 0 to 100). Most of this reduction was due to the implementation of school desegregation programs directed toward the separation of black and white pupils. It is shown that the decline was more pronounced in the South, in small districts, in districts located in nonmetropolitan areas, and districts that desegregated under court directives. Although the majority of pupils in 1976 were concentrated in districts that had implemented some form of desegregation program, this paper shows that the average minority student was still attending school in districts with segregation levels exceeding 40 points, due principally to their concentration in large districts.

Trends in Segregation of Minorities in Public Schools, 1968-1976

This paper is based on one of a series of substantive reports designed to determine the impact of school desegregation policy on the racial and socioeconomic characteristics of the nation's schools and residential communities. The object of the paper is to assess trends over time in levels of racial isolation in the nation's schools, and to determine the extent to which deliberate desegregation actions undertaken at the insistence of various agencies are related to changes in segregation between 1968 and 1976. The analysis is incomplete in the sense that no effort has been made to evaluate the impact of various kinds of desegregation actions on school segregation within individual school districts.

This is not the first analysis of trends in school segregation; it is predated by the studies of Farley and Taeuber (1975), Coleman, Kelly, and Moore (1975), and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1977). The analysis given here extends the discussion to a longer time period, a larger number of school districts, and a consideration of multi-ethnic situations.

DATA AND METHODS

OCR School Files

The investigation of trends in school segregation begins with the statistical analysis of school enrollment data concerning ethnicity, as provided by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW; now the Department of Health and Human Services). These data are unique in that they permit an assessment

of school segregation within districts that have significant concentrations of members of individual minority groups. Coleman et al. (1975) used these data to assess the status and trends in school segregation between black and white students during the 1968-72 period. The analysis reported here covers the 1968-76 period, giving consideration to the extent of school segregation between three categories of ethnic minorities and whites.

The extent of coverage of the nation's school districts varies substantially in the annual school files released by OCR. In 1968, 1970, and 1972 the fall survey covered approximately 8,000 school districts enrolling approximately 92% of public school students in the nation and 98% of all public school students of minority background. The 1969, 1972, and 1973 surveys covered smaller samples of school districts selected from the previous year's larger samples. The selection of districts in the odd-numbered years reflected OCR's interest in compliance activity and interest in districts with high concentrations of minority students. The 1974 and 1976 surveys covered approximately 3,000 districts, except that the districts were chosen to permit statistical estimation of enrollment trends in all school districts. (Unfortunately, no survey was conducted in 1975.)

The districts included for analysis in this paper are a subset of those surveyed by OCR. The selection reflected three considerations. First, it seemed important to focus only on those districts containing sufficient numbers of minorities to make the analysis of trends in school segregation meaningful. Second, since one of the principal objectives of the current analysis is an assessment of the extent of school segregation between whites and individual minorities groups, the selection of

districts for analysis had to be done in a manner that would facilitate pairwise comparisons. Finally, we wanted to exploit the longitudinal character of the OCR file by performing selected analysis of school districts that were surveyed in all the years for which data are available. Accordingly, two subsets of districts were selected for analysis from the OCR school file.

The first subset contained districts that had at least two schools, and met the following criteria: (1) districts with a total student population of less than 1,000 and in which the total percentage of blacks, Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans (the last two combined) was between 10 and 90%; (2) districts with total student populations between 1,000 and 3,499, and in which the total percentage of blacks, Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans was between 5 and 95%; and (3) districts with total student populations of 3,500 or more and in which the total percentage of blacks, Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans was between 3 and 97%. These criteria meant that the number of districts included in a given analysis depended on the year and the particular minority group of interest.

Table 1 presents the percentage of total OCR districts included in the extracts, by survey year. Note that the annual percentage extracts for blacks contain more school districts than the extracts for Hispanics or Asian and Native Americans, and the annual extracts for Hispanics contain more districts than those for the combined Asian and Native American category. The small numbers of school districts included on the extracts for the combined Asian and Native American group are due to their low percentage representation in the total public school population and the fact that members of each of these groups tend to be less concentrated

Table 1. Percentage of School Districts Extracted from OCR Survey Files for the Minority Percentage Analysis

Year	Total OCR District	Percentage Extracted for Analysis: Total Minority	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian and Native Americans
1968	8447	36.7	25.8	11.2	3.0
1969	1970	89.9	77.7	24.3	5.2
1970	8006	40.0	28.3	12.4	3.1
1971	2819	89.4	69.5	30.3	6.9
1972	8027	41.8	28.3	13.2	3.9
1973	2896	89.8	68.6	32.0	9.8
1974	2987	73.3	58.3	20.0	8.4
1976	3579	63.5	48.8	17.0	9.5

within individual school districts.

While the application of the minority percentage criterion substantially reduced the number of school districts on the annual minority extract files, the reduced sample of districts contained the majority of students enrolled in public school systems during any given year (see Table 2). For blacks and Hispanics, the annual percentage extract files contained slightly more than 97 and 92% respectively of the black and Hispanic students in the annual OCR files. The percentage reduction for the combined Asian and Native American category is somewhat greater, however. The application of the percentage criterion resulted in the elimination of all single-ethnic school districts, most of which were all-white school systems.

In order to exploit the longitudinal character of the OCR files, another subset of districts was extracted: those districts for which there was enrollment information for all eight years. Districts were selected for inclusion in this file if they contained at least two schools and met the following criteria concerning numbers of students: (1) districts with total student populations of less than 1,000, with at least 10 minority, black, Hispanic, or other minority students enrolled; (2) districts with total student populations of between 1,000 and 3,499, with 25 or more minority, black, Hispanic, or other minority students; and (3) districts with total student populations of at least 3,500, with 50 or more minority, black, Hispanic, or other minority students enrolled. Table 2 also reports the percentages of total student enrollment extracted for our longitudinal numerical analysis files. While the percentage of students from each minority group included in the numerical extract files is lower than that reported for the file analyzing percentages, the

Table 2. Percentage of Student Enrollment Extracted from OCR Survey for the Minority Percentage and the Numerical Analysis

Students	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1976
All Students[a]	40,682,624	20,881,120	41,453,520	23,709,184	41,436,368	23,984,640	26,060,080	26,304,864
% on Percentage Extract	66.3	98.9	67.7	98.2	69.1	98.1	90.1	87.5
% on Numerical Extract	68.7	90.3	66.5	78.0	44.1	75.2	75.1	66.4
Minority Students	8,447,153	7,934,362	9,156,803	8,886,254	9,476,081	9,146,978	8,699,004	9,134,150
% on Percentage Extract	97.4	99.2	97.0	98.7	97.1	98.1	98.3	97.9
% on Numerical Extract	83.1	91.4	81.1	85.0	80.4	83.6	87.4	86.3
Black Students	6,221,654	6,026,847	6,647,922	6,517,568	6,752,926	6,542,023	6,273,881	6,285,524
% on Percentage Extract	97.7	99.3	97.0	98.4	96.9	98.3	98.8	98.1
% on Numerical Extract	88.7	93.6	86.3	88.8	86.1	88.3	90.6	91.4
Hispanic Students	1,893,623	1,682,520	2,145,481	2,083,587	2,307,275	2,240,263	2,027,257	2,204,222
% on Percentage Extract	91.5	95.6	92.5	95.8	92.0	95.7	95.1	94.8
% on Numerical Extract	69.0	83.6	69.2	74.0	68.2	72.2	80.7	80.8
Asian and Native American Students	331,876	224,995	363,400	285,099	415,880	364,692	397,866	644,404
% on Percentage Extract	49.1	59.4	47.4	56.4	47.7	60.0	58.6	69.1
% on Numerical Extract	53.6	81.6	51.4	67.6	48.7	61.2	58.6	44.6

[a] These figures were obtained from the total annual minority extract files.

numerical files still contain a majority of the students within each group reported in the total OCR file.

The application of numerical and percentage criteria to the OCR annual survey files affects the representation of minority group populations in the resulting extract files. This can be seen clearly in the percentages presented in Table 3. As one would expect, the percentage that each minority group represents of the total student population is higher for the two extract files. This higher percentage representation is a direct result of the elimination of primarily white school systems.

School Desegregation Activities

In addition to the annual enrollment data discussed in the previous section, this paper also uses limited information on the implementation of school desegregation programs by individual school districts. A national study, sponsored by the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation of HEW and conducted by the Rand Corporation (Cox, 1979), was carried out to obtain detailed information on the extent of school desegregation activities pursued by school districts. The study surveyed all school districts with more than 500 minority students reported in any one year of the OCR's annual school enrollment survey. This information was designed to be incorporated into the current analysis to assess the impact of federal policies on the extent of racial desegregation prevailing in the nation's school districts.

Unfortunately, the survey was only able to identify the desegregation status of 1,257 of the approximately 2,235 districts included in the original universe. This made it necessary for us to seek out secondary sources of information. The major secondary source used is the 1976 survey of school superintendents sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil

Table 3. Percentage Representation of Minority Groups in OCR and in Extract Files

Ethnic Category	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1976
Minority								
Total OCR File	20.7	38.1	22.1	37.5	22.9	38.1	33.4	34.7
Percentage Extract File	30.5	28.1	31.7	37.7	32.1	38.2	36.4	38.9
Numeric Extract File	37.9	38.9	39.8	40.9	41.7	42.5	43.1	45.1
Black								
Total OCR File	15.3	28.9	16.0	27.5	16.3	27.3	24.1	23.9
Percentage Extract File	27.6	31.1	28.3	31.1	29.1	31.4	31.4	32.3
Numeric Extract File	30.5	31.0	31.5	32.1	32.6	32.9	33.1	33.8
Hispanic								
Total OCR File	4.7	8.1	5.2	8.8	5.6	9.3	7.8	8.4
Percentage Extract File	17.2	20.2	17.7	19.6	18.3	19.9	19.2	21.0
Numeric Extract File	12.0	12.7	13.3	14.0	14.4	15.1	15.7	17.3
Asian & Native American								
Total OCR File	0.8	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.0	1.5	1.5	2.4
Percentage Extract File	7.3	8.0	7.2	7.9	7.6	8.4	8.5	11.3
Numeric Extract File	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.5	3.2

Rights (1977). Although smaller in size and scope, this survey does provide compatible information on the desegregation status of 492 of the districts for which the Rand survey provides no information.

In this paper, use is made only of information pertaining to whether or not a desegregation program was implemented, the date of implementation, and the major sources of pressure to desegregate. This information was merged with both our percentage and numerical extracts taken from the OCR files. Of the 1,744 districts for which desegregation information was available, 1,031 (41.2%) had desegregated, and 713 (28.5%) had not desegregated. For those which had desegregated, the major sources of pressure were the following:

	Number	Percentage
Federal Courts	418	40.5
State Courts	15	1.5
HEW	176	17.1
State Agency	65	6.3
District	305	29.6
Source Unknown	52	5.0
	1,031	100.0

The majority had desegregated in the years 1968 to 1971, although an average of 36 continued to desegregate each year in the period 1972 to 1977.

The Measurement of School Segregation

The index of dissimilarity, D, is used to measure trends in school segregation. The decision to use this index reflects our interest in assessing the effect of the purposive behavior of school administrators in implementing school desegregation programs. Our evaluation of thirteen indices of segregation that are generally used led to the conclusion that the index of dissimilarity provides the most effective use of relevant features of the concept of "segregation" for the purposes of policy analysis (see Taeuber and Wilson, 1981).

The index of dissimilarity can be expressed in a formula emphasizing a difference between the proportion of students in a particular school who are minority group members (P_i) and the proportion of minority members in the total student population of the school district (P). Hence,

$$D = \sum_{i=1}^{K} \frac{T_i(P_i-P)}{2TP(1-P)}$$

where K refers to the number of schools; T_i refers to the total population of the ith school; and T refers to the total student population of the school district. Note that the index uses the proportion of minorities in the universe (school district) as the criterion for evaluating the racial composition of individual schools. A condition of complete segregation (when the index value equals 1) is obtained when the differences between (P_i) and (P) are at their maximum; a condition of no segregation (when the index value equals 0.0) is obtained when (P_i) equals (P) for all i's. To put it in words, in completely segregated schools, the index would be 1; in totally desegregated schools (meaning where each school had the same percentage of minority students as the minority student percentage in the

school district), the index would be 0. Another way of putting it is that the index indicates the minimum proportion (or percentage) of the members of one race (either minority or white) that would have to be shifted from schools in which they are overrepresented to schools in which they are underrepresented in order that zero segregation will result from reassigning only one race. To facilitate the presentation, all index values are here multiplied by 100, so that the index ranges from 0 to 100.

TRENDS IN SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Efforts to eliminate school segregation have a long history dating back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Litwack, 1961; Farley, 1973). However, it has only been in the past two decades that serious attempts have been made to substantially reduce the extent of segregation between whites and minority students. It is not possible to provide a statistical portrait of the level of segregation prevailing between whites and minorities in the nation's school districts prior to 1967, since the statistical reporting on enrollment by race did not begin until that date. However, it is reasonable to assume that most school districts that contain a significant population of minority students were highly segregated before the 1954 Supreme Court decision, Brown v. Board of Education, and little effort was made to alter the racial composition of schools after that date until external pressure was applied.

This discussion of trends in school segregation begins with the 1968-69 school year. The first task is to summarize trends in school segregation between whites and the total minority student population, and between whites and three individual minority groups by size of district, region, and metropolitan-nonmetropolitan location. Next, we assess the amount and character of effect that desegregation programs have had on

school segregation within individual school districts. The underlying policy issue for this set of analysis is to determine how various types of desegregation actions affect school segregation.

Whites versus Total Minority Population

The extent of school segregation existing between whites and the total minority student population has declined from a moderate level of 42 in 1968 to 21 in 1976 (as measured by the index of dissimilarity), with most of the decline occurring between 1968 and 1970. This apparently low level of school segregation conceals a great deal of variation among school districts with respect to size, region, metropolitan status, and ethnic background. However, before proceeding to document these variations, it is appropriate to emphasize the underlying features of the trend data to be discussed. First, all of the segregation index values discussed in this section are derived from the percentage extract files (discussed in the previous section), which means that the average values for each year and ethnic group are based on differing numbers of school districts. Second, the analysis of trends is based on mean values, unadjusted for total or minority group population sizes. (The relative experiences of students with respect to the degree of segregation they encounter in school systems are discussed in a separate section.)

School districts located in different geographic regions did not equally experience the decline in school segregation. As indicated in Figure 1, the average levels of school segregation in the border states and non-South regions have remained at moderate levels throughout the nine-year period.[1] Within the region of the South, districts in the East South Central area experienced the most dramatic declines, with a drop in average segregation levels of approximately 40 points between 1968 and

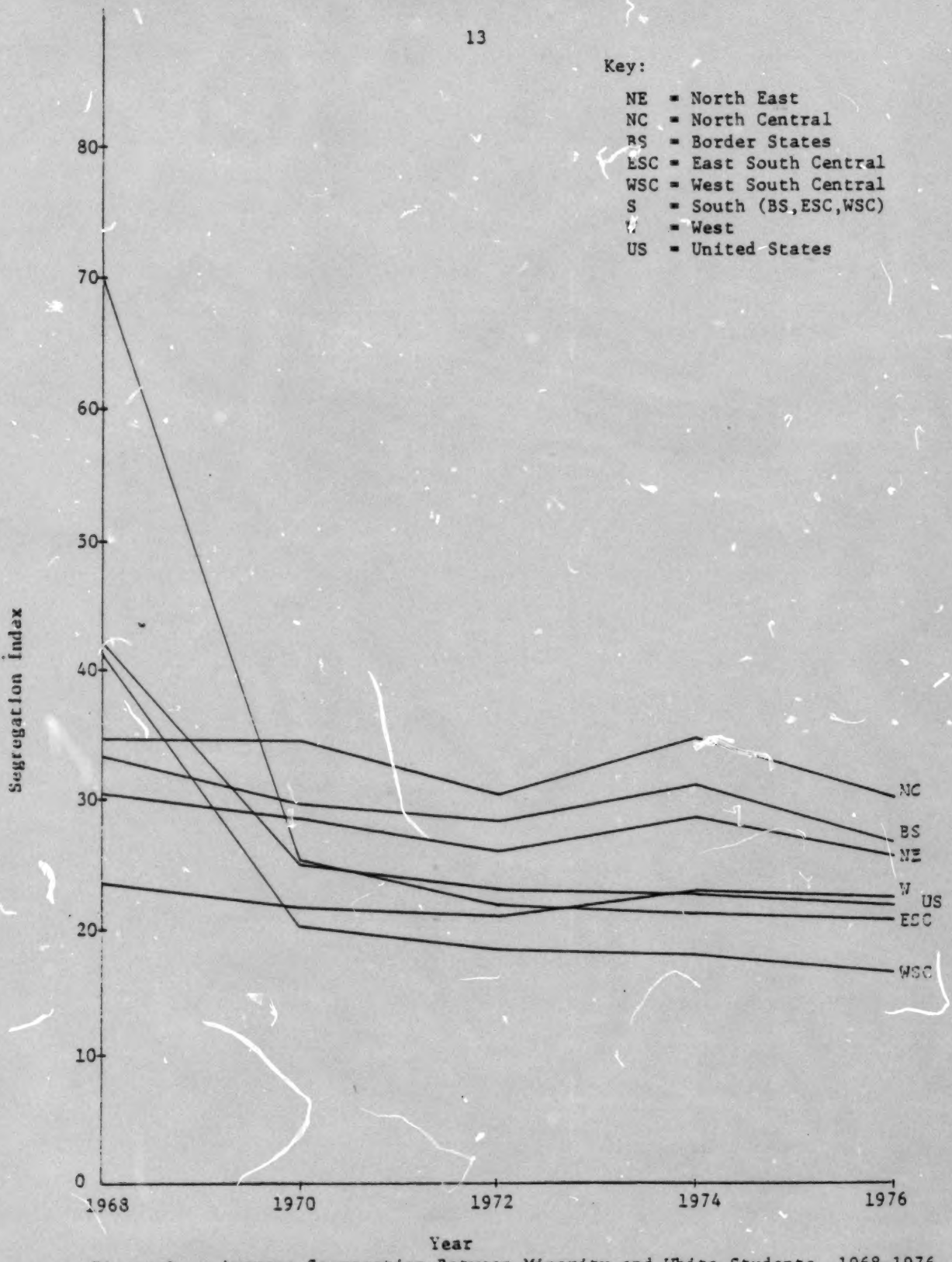

Figure 1. Average Segregation Between Minority and White Students, 1968-1976, by Region. (Public schools, grades 1-12; see text for sample description)

1971. The substantial change in segregation levels in the Deep South states is due in large part to the implementation of school desegregation programs (as will be shown in the next section).

Another important feature to note about the aggregate trends in school segregation is that they vary substantially by size of school districts. This is clearly indicated in the trends exhibited in Figure 2. While districts in each size class experienced approximately a 22-point decline in segregation levels between 1968 and 1976, the 1968 levels were higher for larger districts and the decline was much less abrupt for larger districts than for smaller districts. In other words, although districts in each size class experienced a similar amount of decline in segregation, the uniformity of the shift had the net effect of preserving the relative differences in levels of segregation by size of district.

Levels of school segregation within a broad South/non-South classification exhibit the same pattern of variation by size of district as indicated for the nation as a whole (South plus non-South; see Table 4). However, for the non-South region, one can observe lower levels of school segregation at the initial period, but smaller declines between 1968 and 1976, and consequently slightly higher levels of segregation at the terminal period. In fact the substantial declines occurring in the South have led to a convergence of average segregation levels, except for the largest size districts.

Table 5 reports trends in school segregation between white and minority students by region and metropolitan status. In general, school districts located in nonmetropolitan areas not only had lower initial levels of segregation, but experienced greater declines than districts in metropolitan areas. Regional differences are confined to the South, with

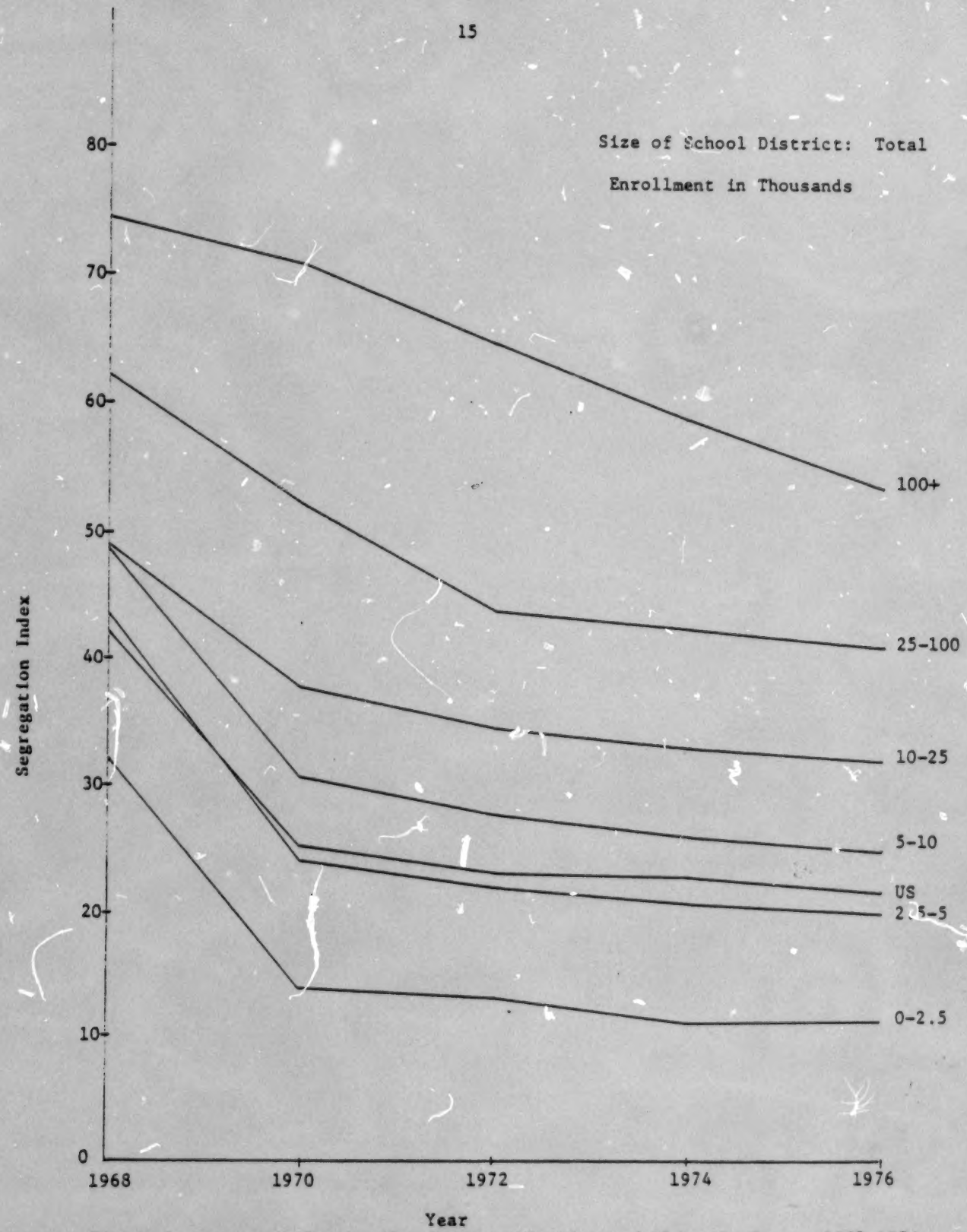

Figure 2. Average Segregation Between Minority and White Students, 1968-1976, by Size of School District.

Table 4. Trends in School Segregation between Whites and Total Minority Population by Region and Size of District: 1968-1976

School District Size[a]	Index of Dissimilarity, Non-South			Index of Dissimilarity, South		
	1968	1976	Change	1968	1976	Change
<2,500	17.5	15.7	-1.8	41.7	10.2	-31.5
2,500 - 4,999	26.6	21.5	-5.1	51.2	19.3	-37.9
5,000 - 9,999	32.5	24.3	-8.2	66.0	25.3	-40.7
10,000 - 24,999	37.6	29.9	-7.7	65.0	33.4	-31.6
25,000 - 100,000	51.7	39.2	-12.5	72.6	41.2	-31.4
100,000 +	74.2	64.9	-9.3	74.3	45.6	-28.7
Average	28.3	24.8	-3.5	53.9	19.6	-34.3

[a] Size categories reflect annual distribution of districts.

Table 5. Trends in School Segregation Between White and Minority Students by Region and Metropolitan Status: 1968-1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Regions[a]	Nonmetropolitan			Metropolitan[b]								
				Total			Central Cities			Suburbs		
	1968	1976	Change	1968	1976	Change	1968	1976	Change	1968	1976	Change
North East	272.5	20.2	- 7.3	31.3	26.1	- 5.2	47.7	40.3	- 7.4	27.5	20.8	- 6.7
North Central	27.7	22.7	- 5.0	39.6	33.8	- 5.8	58.6	44.4	-14.2	32.6	27.4	- 5.2
Border States	28.3	22.2	- 6.1	27.7	32.9	-14.6	61.1	46.8	-14.3	39.6	26.9	-12.7
East South Central	69.6	18.7	-50.9	71.7	30.5	-41.2	78.9	34.0	-44.9	66.6	28.2	-36.4
West South Central	40.7	13.6	-27.1	42.2	22.5	-19.7	64.8	39.6	-25.2	35.5	16.7	-17.8
West	22.5	20.6	- 1.9	24.5	23.3	- 1.2	46.0	34.6	-11.4	22.0	20.4	- 1.6
Average	45.6	17.9	-27.7	36.9	26.8	-10.1	59.7	39.0	-20.7	30.8	21.9	- 8.9

[a] The list of states included in each region is included in the Appendix.

[b] Metropolitan status based on 1970 census classification.

nonmetropolitan districts showing the greatest decline. Within metropolitan areas, one can observe greater changes in school segregation occurring within central cities than suburbs, reflecting higher initial levels of segregation in central cities.

A final classification of school districts in the percentage extract file is presented according to whether they contain elementary and/or secondary schools.[2] Trends in school segregation for these two categories of schools are reported in Figures 3 through 6, in which school districts are also classified by region and size. In general, the trends exhibited for elementary and secondary schools are similar to those presented for all schools by region and size of district. However, three additional observations should be made. First, levels of school segregation are uniformly higher in elementary schools than secondary schools within both the region and the size-of-district classifications. This difference is due in all probability to the fact that the attendance areas of secondary schools encompass many more residential units than is true of elementary schools, thus increasing the odds of minority students attending the same schools as whites. Second, the amount of variability in level of segregation between regions and size-of-district categories is greater for elementary schools at both the initial and terminal periods. Finally, the larger decline in the level of segregation at the elementary school level had the effect of narrowing the differences between the two types of schools.

Segregation between Whites and Individual Minority Groups

The previous section focused on the extent of segregation between whites and the total minority student population. This section examines the extent of segregation between whites and individual minority groups.

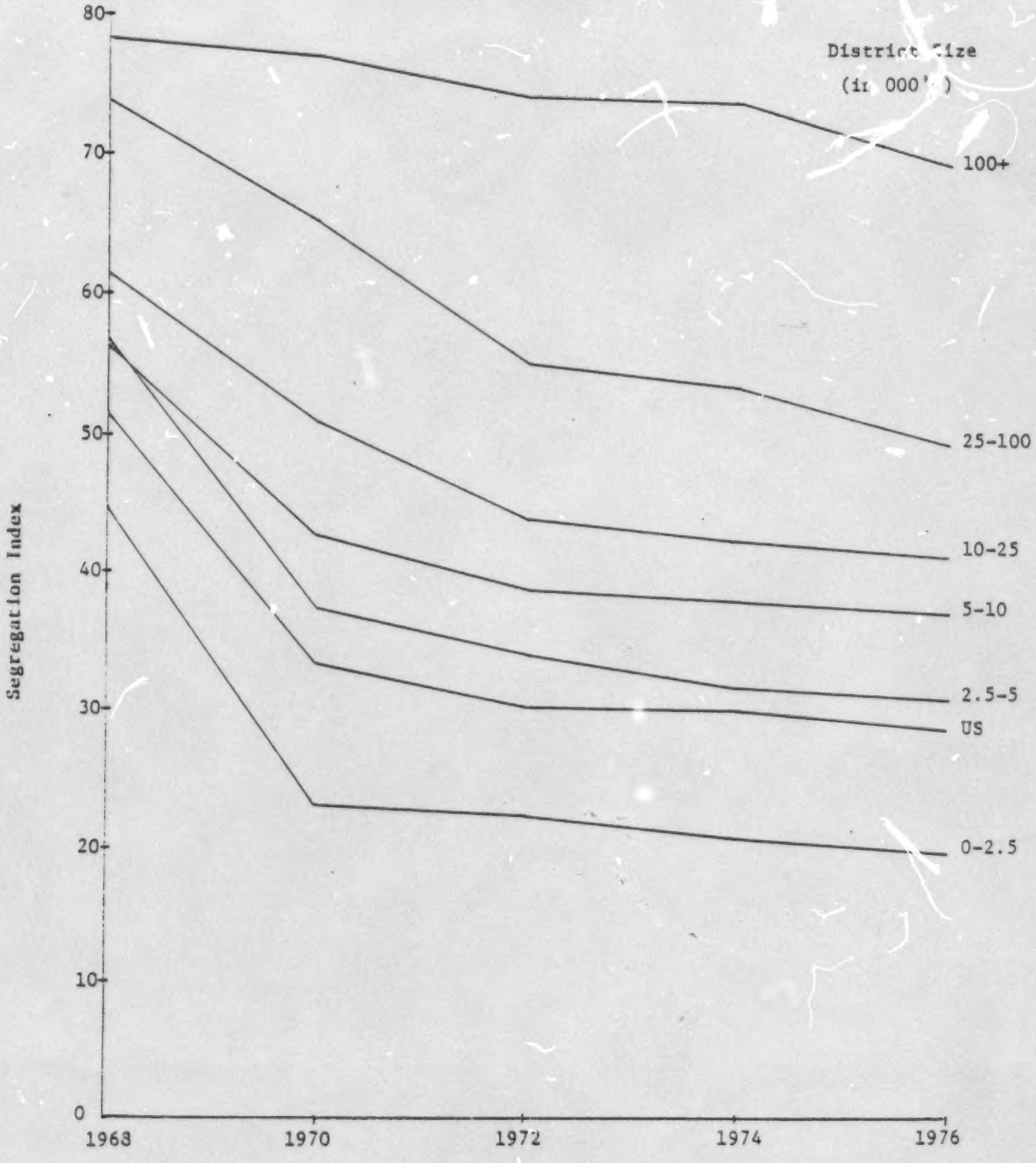

Figure 3. Average Segregation Between Minority and White Elementary School Students, 1968-1976, by Size of School District.

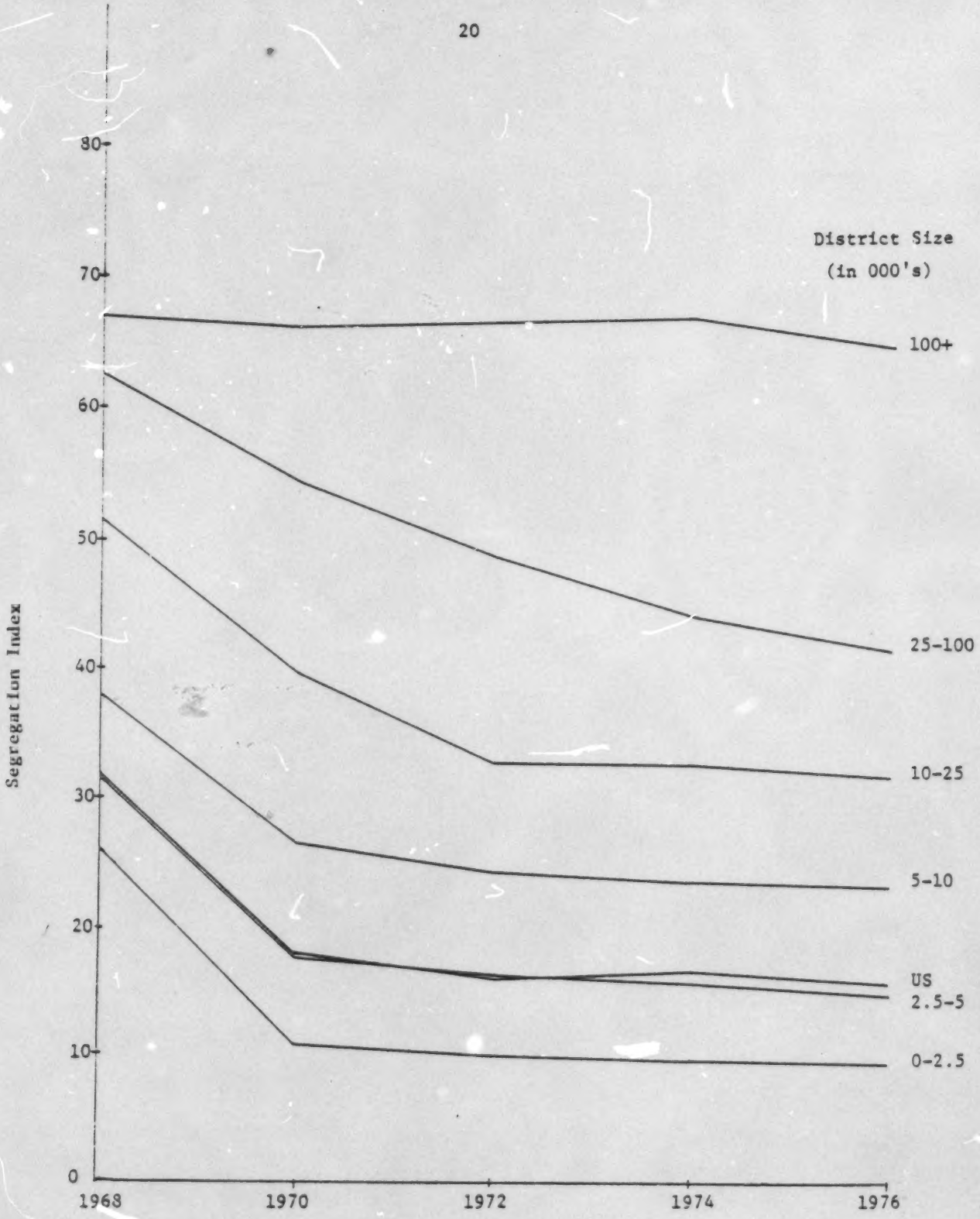

Figure 4. Average Segregation Between Minority and White Secondary School Students, 1968-1976, by Size of School District.

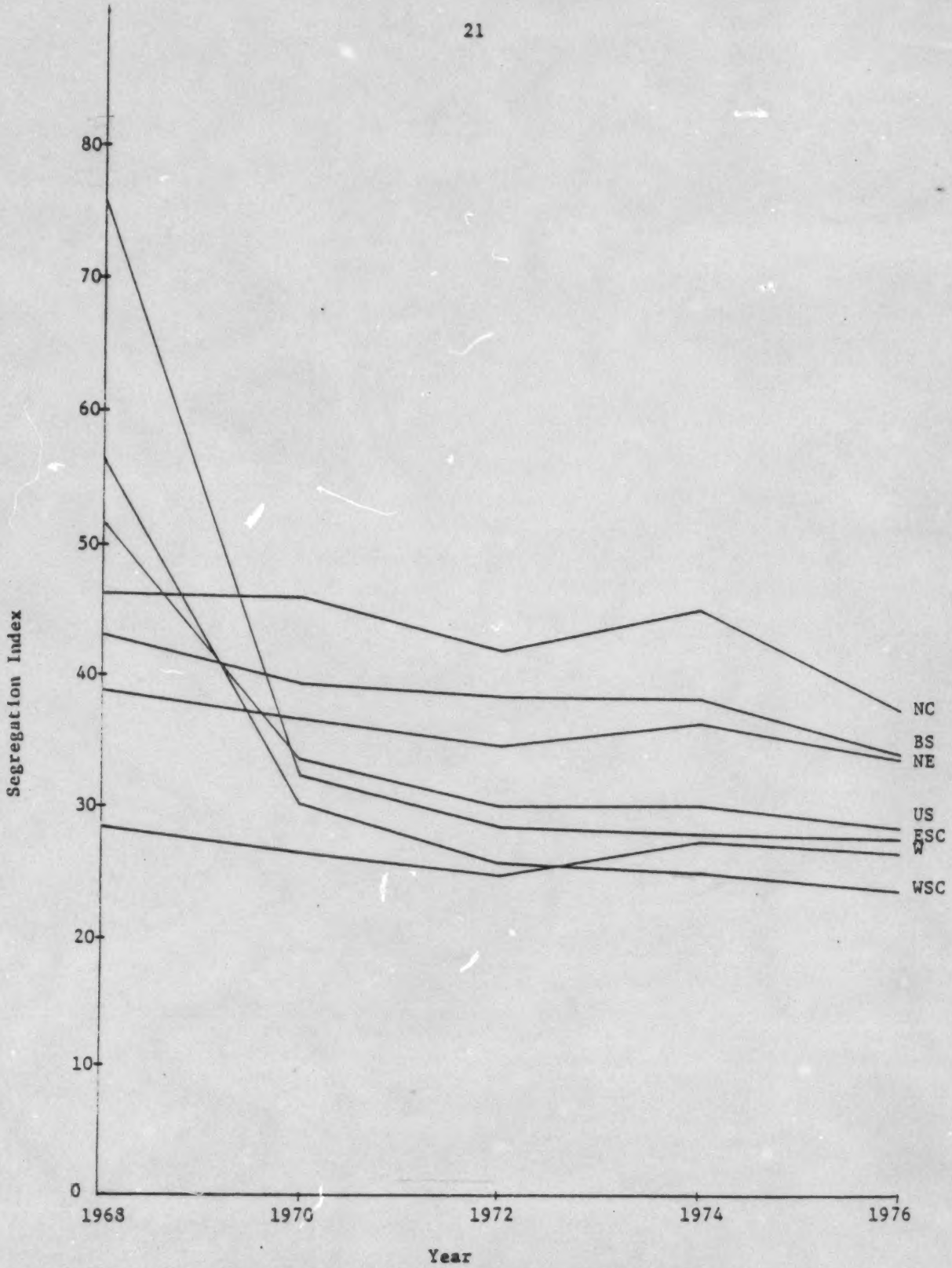

Figure 5. Average Segregation Between Minority and White Elementary School Students, 1968-1976, by Region.

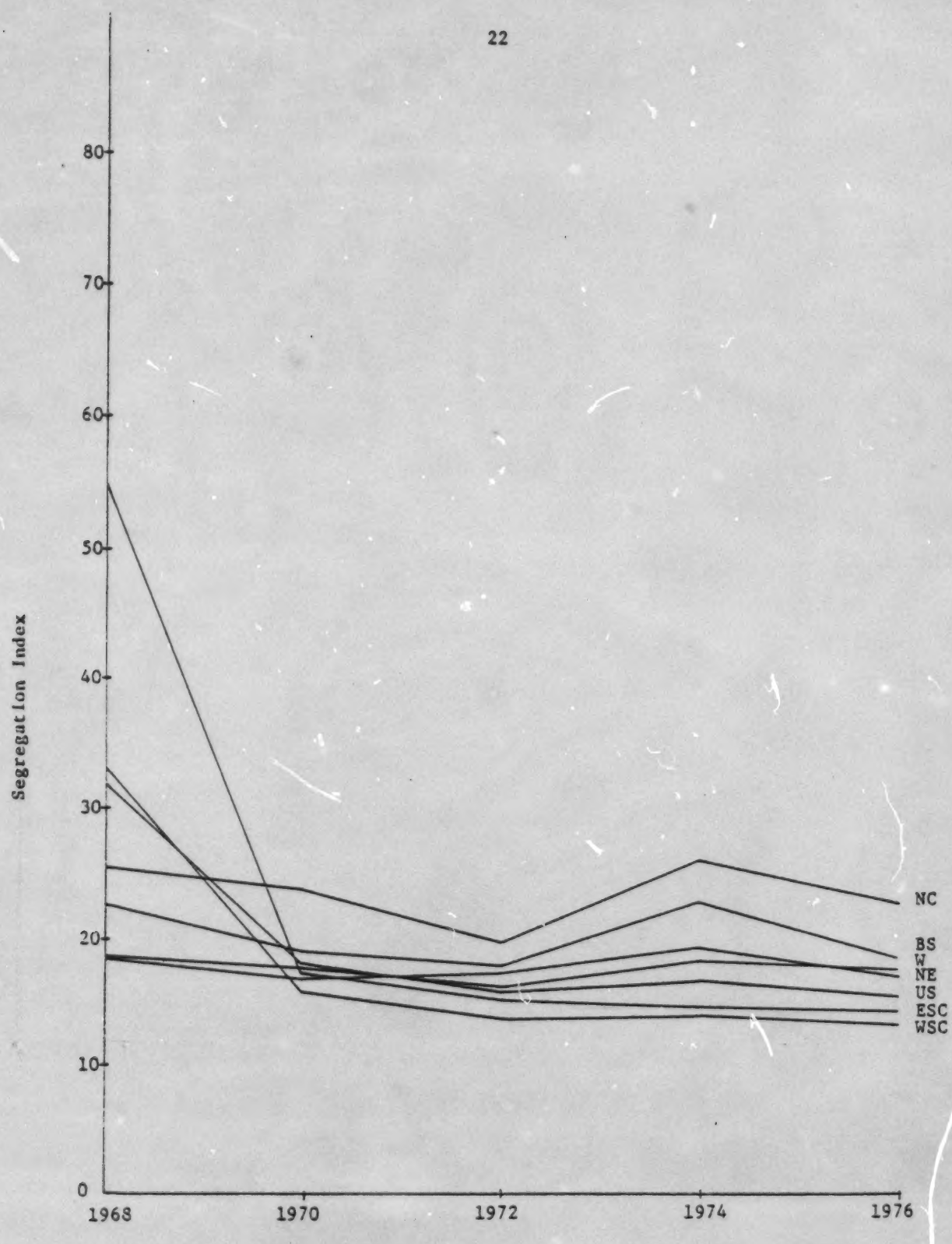

Figure 6. Average Segregation Between Minority and White Secondary School Students, 1968-1976, by Region.

The analysis presented here is the first to focus on this topic on a national scale. Although national policy discussions have identified this topic as an area of concern, they have not been guided by empirical analysis. Thus far, most of the attention has focused on the extent of segregation between black and white students. One can speculate that the larger size of the black student population and the belief that these students are more isolated from whites than students of other minority groups are the underlying motivations for the emphasis on black-white desegregation.

Table 6 reports trends in school segregation between whites and individual minority groups by type of schools. In 1976 no substantial differences existed between blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities (Asian and Native Americans) with respect to the degree to which they were segregated from whites within each of the school categories. These similarities in levels at the terminal period are due to the significant declines in the level of segregation that existed between white and black students. The level of segregation between Hispanics and whites remained virtually unchanged since 1968, whereas the level of segregation between Asian and Native Americans and whites underwent a 10-point drop in elementary schools. (We note that this 10-point decline occurred primarily in the Northeast region. In this region, Asian Americans represent approximately 75% of the student population in this category.)

The levels of school segregation between each of the individual minority groups and whites do differ, however, with respect to size of school district, region, and type of school. Size of district and regional variations for blacks correspond closely to the trends presented for the total minority population, primarily because blacks represent 75%

Table 6. Trends in School Segregation between Whites and Minority Groups, by Type of School

Type of Schools and Minority Group Status	1968	1976	Change
	(index of dissimilarity)		
All Schools			
Total Minority	42.0	21.4	-20.6
Black	51.6	22.5	-29.1
Hispanic	27.1	26.5	- 0.6
Asian and Native Americans	28.7	23.9	- 4.8
Elementary Schools			
Total Minority	51.8	28.2	-23.6
Black	62.9	30.9	-32.0
Hispanic	32.8	31.7	- 1.1
Asian and Native Americans	38.4	28.4	-10.0
Secondary Schools			
Total Minority	31.8	15.7	-16.1
Black	39.8	16.6	-23.2
Hispanic	19.8	20.8	+ 1.0
Asian and Native Americans	21.5	19.6	- 1.9

of the total. With respect to the other two minority groups, the extent of variation in level of segregation with whites between regions is less than that for blacks. The same observation can be made for variations in size of district, although variations in the level of segregation with whites increase with size of district for each type of school and minority group.

Attention thus far has focused on aggregate trends in school segregation. It would be useful at this point to display school segregation values for a selected number of school districts to give the presentation more concreteness. Student population size is used as a criterion for identifying the fifty districts that have the largest enrollment for each of the three major minority group categories. Tables 7-9 present level of school segregation between whites and minority student populations for 1968, 1976, and the change over those years. The 50 school districts listed in these tables represent 48, 60, and 34% of the total enrollment of black, Hispanic, and Asian and Native American students respectively, and are indicative of the high degree of concentration of each of these groups in large districts.

The trends exhibited in these tables correspond to the aggregate trends discussed earlier. At both dates, blacks were the most segregated from whites, followed by Hispanics, and then Asian and Native Americans. However, during the 1968-76 interval, the level of segregation between blacks and whites declined significantly. For example, in 1968, among blacks there were 32 districts with segregation values exceeding 80; in 1976 this number had dropped to nine. A total of 27 districts experienced declines of 20 points or more in segregation levels, 21 of which were located in the South. Districts such as Charlotte, NC (-58), Tampa, FL

Table 7. 1976 Population Data and Segregation between Whites and Blacks, 1968-1976

School District Name	Segregation Values			Black Population: 1976		
	1968	1976	Change 1968-76	Number	Percentage Total Black	Percentage Total Minority
New York, NY	64.3	70.5	6.2	407,158	37.9	54.5
Chicago, IL	90.1	92.0	1.9	310,516	59.6	79.2
Detroit, MI	76.6	63.2	-13.4	188,871	79.3	97.4
Philadelphia, PA	75.1	80.8	5.7	162,677	62.4	91.2
Los Angeles, CA	90.4	81.0	- 9.4	147,255	24.5	38.6
Washington, DC	78.7	85.8	7.1	118,983	95.1	98.6
Baltimore, MD	81.9	67.6	-14.3	117,525	76.5	99.1
Houston, TX	91.7	77.1	-14.6	90,476	43.1	65.4
Memphis, TN	95.2	56.3	-38.9	85,522	70.6	100.0
New Orleans, LA	83.4	75.8	- 7.6	74,079	80.3	96.2
Atlanta, GA	91.2	73.7	-17.5	72,794	88.3	99.4
Cleveland, OH	89.5	90.3	0.8	69,558	58.2	94.6
Miami, FL [1]	85.3	64.3	-21.0	66,922	27.9	47.3
Dallas, TX	93.8	64.8	-29.0	64,908	46.7	75.5
St. Louis MO	88.3	85.4	- 2.9	60,642	71.8	99.2
Prince Georges County, MD	66.2	29.4	-36.8	53,928	37.5	93.3
Newark, NJ	78.8	83.3	4.5	52,013	72.6	80.5
Milwaukee, WI	84.7	54.9	-29.8	40,763	37.5	85.7
Indianapolis, IN	77.3	46.7	-30.6	37,321	45.6	98.8
Jacksonville, FL	87.5	40.2	-47.3	36,455	32.3	96.0
Oakland, CA	68.9	68.0	- 0.9	35,879	67.4	80.7
Birmingham, AL	92.3	80.4	-11.9	34,884	68.5	99.6
Cincinnati, OH	66.3	64.5	- 1.8	34,631	52.8	99.1
Boston, MA	73.0	31.7	-41.3	31,437	42.6	76.1
Columbus, OH	73.6	61.0	-12.6	31,368	32.3	97.8
Gary, IN	87.1	82.1	- 5.0	30,230	78.3	91.7
Richmond, VA	86.7	29.6	-57.1	29,758	80.3	99.4
Fort Lauderdale, FL [1]	84.5	38.4	-46.1	29,404	21.5	87.0
Louisville, KY [1]	79.9	22.3	-57.6	29,376	24.7	98.1
Mobile, AL [1]	88.8	58.1	-30.7	28,956	44.3	99.5
Charlotte, NC [1]	73.2	14.9	-58.3	28,395	35.6	97.7
Kansas City, MO	80.2	79.0	- 1.2	28,064	65.0	93.9
Pittsburgh, PA	70.6	56.7	-13.9	27,022	45.8	99.0
Charleston, SC [1]	88.1	57.6	-30.5	26,709	50.7	98.4
Baton Rouge, LA [1]	93.8	72.3	-21.5	26,402	38.8	98.2
Compton, CA	79.3	52.7	-26.6	26,285	84.8	85.3
Shreveport, LA [1] [2]	97.4	62.4	-35.0	25,577	52.1	99.1
Fort Worth, TX	89.0	46.6	-42.4	24,776	34.8	70.7
Buffalo, NY	70.3	58.7	-11.6	24,545	44.8	89.6
Norfolk, VA	85.5	14.7	-70.8	24,046	52.3	93.9
Nashville, TN [1]	81.6	42.7	-38.9	23,593	30.4	98.4
Tampa, FL [1]	82.7	24.6	-58.1	22,552	19.6	80.5
East St. Louis, MO	77.1	74.5	- 2.6	21,212	95.4	99.9
West Palm Beach, FL [1]	81.4	38.0	-43.4	21,136	29.8	83.6
Dayton, OH	86.8	22.2	-64.6	20,722	51.9	99.3
Columbia, SC [1]	81.9	38.3	-43.6	20,706	63.4	99.4
Flint, MI	63.5	59.2	- 4.3	20,434	53.0	95.3
San Francisco, CA	57.7	27.2	-30.5	19,710	29.1	40.2
Jackson, MS	95.4	47.4	-48.0	19,525	70.2	99.8
Savannah, GA [1]	88.6	28.6	-60.0	18,679	54.8	98.9

[1] Central cities located within county districts.

[2] The central city of Shreveport, served by the school districts of Caddo and Bossier parishes.

Table 8. 1976 Population Data and Segregation of Whites and Hispanics, 1968-1976

School District Name	Segregation Values			Hispanic Population: 1976		
	1968	1976	Change 1968-76	Number	Percentage Total Hispanic	Percentage Total Minority
New York, NY	72.9	70.4	- 2.5	312,109	29.0	41.8
Los Angeles, CA	64.4	65.9	1.5	193,521	32.2	50.7
Miami, FL [1]	57.2	53.6	- 3.6	73,582	30.7	52.0
Chicago, IL	64.8	65.0	0.2	73,430	14.1	18.7
Houston, TX	65.4	61.9	- 3.5	46,058	22.0	33.3
San Antonio, TX	65.3	53.1	-12.2	45,155	69.0	80.9
El Paso, TX	68.1	59.2	- 8.9	40,259	62.4	93.7
Albuquerque, NM	53.4	49.9	- 3.5	33,657	41.5	86.5
Ysleta ISD, TX	59.4	62.0	2.8	30,950	70.5	95.3
Corpus Christi, TX	70.6	34.0	-36.6	24,138	59.5	90.8
Denver, CO	57.9	38.1	-19.8	21,689	29.0	55.9
Brownsville, TX	40.4	49.1	8.7	21,315	90.3	99.9
Laredo, TX	48.7	35.2	-13.5	20,271	94.9	99.9
Dallas, TX	62.7	52.4	-10.3	19,775	14.2	23.0
Edgewood ISD, TX	60.6	60.5	- 0.1	18,215	92.9	95.2
Montebello Unified, CA	41.2	28.7	-12.5	16,961	67.9	90.8
San Diego, CA	44.4	48.4	4.0	16,817	14.0	41.0
Tucson Elementary, AZ	69.1	57.8	-11.3	16,257	27.3	76.7
Santa Ana Unified, CA	40.3	34.8	- 5.5	14,425	51.0	80.0
Philadelphia, PA	79.6	77.6	- 2.0	14,417	5.5	8.1
Harlandale Independent, TX	47.8	43.0	- 4.8	13,625	77.6	99.2
Austin, TX	71.9	52.6	-19.3	13,583	23.4	58.2
Fresno, CA	48.2	46.6	- 1.6	13,501	24.9	65.8
Newark, NJ	61.7	62.6	0.9	12,260	17.1	19.0
McAllen ISD, TX	50.7	45.4	- 5.3	11,497	81.0	99.7
Pharr-San Juan ISD, TX	39.1	29.5	- 9.6	11,369	92.0	99.9
Hacienda-La Puenta Unified, CA	33.2	31.6	- 1.6	10,498	38.4	85.8
Pueblo, CO	42.7	30.9	-11.8	9,969	42.0	94.1
El Rancho Unified, CA	24.6	21.8	- 2.8	9,905	81.7	98.7
Fort Worth, TX	64.7	60.9	- 3.8	9,805	13.8	28.0
San Francisco, CA	43.1	42.1	- 1.0	9,508	14.0	19.4
Northside ISD, TX	32.3	41.7	9.4	9,308	31.5	45.0
San Jose, CA	62.7	64.0	1.3	9,271	24.5	81.6
Harlingen ISD, TX	41.8	34.4	- 7.4	8,685	74.8	98.8
Lubbock, TX	73.5	75.6	2.1	8,563	26.5	66.7
South San Antonio, TX	51.7	54.7	3.0	8,447	74.5	95.2
Edinburg ISD, TX	33.7	28.2	- 5.5	8,421	87.3	99.8
Hartford, CT	64.5	50.6	-13.9	8,293	30.6	38.8
Jersey City, NJ	69.9	54.6	-15.3	8,237	23.1	31.1
Norwalk-La Mirada Unified, CA	31.2	35.8	4.6	8,064	34.0	92.3
Alum Rock Unified, CA	24.9	25.2	0.9	8,050	57.4	77.5
Paterson, NJ	55.4	51.8	- 3.6	8,005	28.9	35.6
Stockton, CA	49.4	36.2	-13.2	7,991	29.6	53.9
Santa Fe, NM	21.9	24.6	2.7	7,732	66.1	97.4
Sweetwater Unified, CA	31.2	37.0	5.8	7,519	32.0	71.1
Boston, MA	68.7	52.6	-16.1	7,296	9.9	17.7
Weslaco ISD, TX	43.5	18.9	-24.6	7,108	91.9	99.9
Bridgeport, CT	54.7	52.5	- 2.2	7,104	30.0	46.1
San Bernardino, CA	50.7	36.5	-14.2	7,085	22.6	57.5
Sacramento, CA	33.8	32.1	- 1.7	6,938	16.1	32.8

[1] Central city located within county district.

Table 9. 1976 Population Data and Segregation between Whites and Asian and Native Americans, 1968-1976

School District Name	Segregation Values			Asian & Native Amer. Pop: 1976		
	1968	1976	Change 1968-76	Number	Percentage	
					Total Asian & Native American	Total Minority
Los Angeles, CA	62.7	52.9	- 9.8	41,152	6.8	10.8
New York, NY	59.7	55.3	- 4.4	28,348	2.6	3.8
San Francisco, CA	47.7	26.2	-21.5	19,771	29.2	40.4
Gallup, NM	52.1	52.8	0.7	8,808	69.2	84.9
Chicago, IL	55.6	53.1	- 2.5	8,218	1.6	2.1
Robeson County, NC	94.3	69.7	-24.6	7,998	59.7	74.2
Seattle, WA	59.7	45.7	-14.0	7,378	11.8	35.9
San Diego, CA	34.2	37.2	3.0	6,795	5.6	16.6
Sacramento, CA	45.0	33.3	-11.7	5,414	12.5	25.6
Central, NM	57.4	67.4	10.0	4,549	82.7	98.3
Oakland, CA	40.7	46.7	6.0	4,405	8.3	9.9
Anchorage, AK	30.4	24.4	- 6.0	3,410	8.7	59.3
Minneapolis, MN	49.5	38.6	-10.9	3,335	6.5	28.4
Long Beach, CA	58.0	40.5	-17.5	3,289	5.6	17.5
Unorganized State Schools, AK	82.4	82.1	- 0.3	3,276	72.5	98.7
Tulsa, OK	31.8	31.1	- 0.7	3,232	5.3	21.2
Albuquerque, NM	42.9	34.0	- 8.9	2,909	3.6	7.5
Alhambra, CA	48.5	37.1	-11.4	2,762	16.6	28.5
Boston, MA	72.9	60.2	-12.7	2,572	3.5	6.2
Sweetwater Unified, CA	33.9	40.7	6.8	2,465	10.5	23.3
Portland, OR	30.4	23.4	- 7.0	2,421	4.1	22.5
Stockton, CA	37.6	36.4	- 1.2	2,387	8.8	16.1
Monterey, CA	22.9	32.7	9.8	2,134	13.7	35.2
Richmond, CA	43.5	36.3	- 7.2	1,891	5.5	11.4
Jefferson Elementary, CA	24.2	16.8	- 7.4	1,891	24.8	41.0
Houston, TX	43.1	43.5	0.4	1,879	0.9	1.4
Vallejo City, CA	35.4	30.1	- 5.3	1,824	12.4	27.1
Milwaukee, WI	48.1	42.4	- 5.7	1,818	1.7	3.8
Tucson Elementary, AZ	54.7	42.5	-12.2	1,773	2.9	8.4
Montebello Unified, CA	35.6	52.0	16.4	1,654	6.6	8.9
Denver, CO	44.3	27.5	-16.8	1,603	2.1	4.1
Tacoma, WA	27.7	24.9	- 2.8	1,544	4.8	25.3
Santa Clara, CA	23.9	14.9	- 9.0	1,521	8.0	24.6
Hayward, CA	23.1	18.9	- 4.2	1,503	7.0	19.8
Todd County, SD	32.5	44.5	12.0	1,466	82.6	99.7
Las Vegas, NV [1]	40.6	25.5	-15.1	1,448	1.8	8.3
San Jose, CA	40.5	24.8	-15.7	1,448	3.8	12.8
Arlington County, VA	32.7	31.9	- 0.8	1,437	7.5	28.4
Chula Vista, CA	31.2	36.1	4.9	1,364	9.1	23.5
Fayetteville, NC	58.8	21.6	-37.2	1,347	3.7	11.1
Norfolk, VA	40.3	50.2	9.9	1,340	3.0	5.2
San Juan County, UT	44.2	50.1	5.9	1,335	47.6	94.1
Dallas, TX	57.4	38.9	-18.5	1,318	1.0	1.5
San Mateo City, CA	21.5	13.5	- 8.0	1,294	11.0	45.5
Fresno, CA	23.1	16.5	- 6.6	1,281	2.4	6.2
New Orleans, LA	51.7	42.8	- 8.9	1,275	1.4	1.7
Virginia Beach, VA	27.5	33.4	5.9	1,224	2.2	16.1
Oceanside Unified, CA	30.2	21.3	- 8.9	1,178	10.6	25.4
Lawton, OK	20.4	22.3	1.9	1,151	5.9	19.8
Reno, NV [1]	38.6	32.6	- 6.0	1,148	3.7	42.1

[1] Central city located within county district.

(-58), Dayton, OH (-65) and Savannah, GA (-60) represent t[illegible]xtremes. Few of the districts with black student populations of 50,000 or more experienced significant declines in segregation. Thus, although the average level of segregation between blacks and whites declined from 95 to approximately 55, there were quite a few districts with large concentrations of blacks with segregation scores exceeding 80, e.g., Chicago (92), Philadelphia (81), Los Angeles (81), Washington, DC (86), Cleveland (90), St. Louis (85), Newark (83), Birmingham (80), and Gary (82).

Among Hispanics and among Asians and Native Americans, only 3 school districts experienced declines exceeding 20 points--Corpus Christi TX (-37), Waco, TX (-25), and Denver, CO (-20) for Hispanics, and San Francisco (-22), Robeson, NC (-25), and Fayetteville, NC (-37) for Asian and Native Am[illegible]icans. School segregation between whites and Hispanics declined from approximately 50 to 40 points, and from 40 to 30 points between whites and Asian and Native Americans. However, within these two groups, there were still a few districts with segregation levels exceeding 60 points--Philadelphia (78) and Lubbock, TX (76) for Hispanics; and Alaska state schools (82) and Robeson, NC (70) for Asians and Native Americans.

Segregation between Minority Groups

The extent of school segregation between students of different minority groups has not heretofore been empirically analyzed on a national scale. In fact, minority group segregation only emerged as an issue in the late 1970s, reflecting a shift in the regional focus of desegregation programs to school districts in which members of several minority groups are concentrated. At issue is whether trends in school segregation

between minority groups paralleled those between each minority group and whites.

Table 10 reports average segregation values between minority groups. In general, segregation levels among these groups do not differ substantially from those reported between each group and whites, particularly in 1976. Although the level of segregation between minority groups declined between 1968 and 1976, only that between blacks and Asian and Native Americans declined by more than 9 points. The decline between blacks and Asian and Native Americans was substantial in the South, where the average level of segregation went from 54 in 1968 to 30 in 1976 (not shown in table). Since very few students of Asian descent reside in the South, it is reasonable to speculate that the changing level of school segregation in that region mainly reflects the attendance patterns of black and Native American students.

In previous discussions, school district size has been shown to be a consistent correlate of level of school segregation. As the data in Table 11 indicate, segregation between minority groups is not an exception. School segregation increases positively with school district size at both the initial and terminal periods. Changes in segregation levels exhibit no systematic variation by school district size, although districts in the largest category experienced above-average declines.

Only the level of school segregation between blacks and Hispanics in 1968 exhibited a significant difference between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (not shown on table). Changes during the 1968-76 period eliminated the differences that existed between the other two comparison groups. Within metropolitan areas, however, there was a clear distinction between central city and suburban school districts with

Table 10. Average Segregation between Minority Groups by Type of Schools: 1968 and 1976

School Type and Comparison Groups	1968	1976	Change
	(index of dissimilarity)		
All Schools			
Black vs. Hispanic	34.0	28.8	- 5.2
Black vs. Asian and Native American	45.2	28.9	-16.3
Hispanic vs. Asian and Native American	31.4	26.4	- 5.0
Elementary Schools			
Black vs. Hispanic	43.1	35.4	- 7.7
Black vs. Asian and Native American	55.5	36.8	-18.7
Hispanic vs. Asian and Native American	36.0	31.8	- 4.2
Secondary Schools			
Black vs. Hispanic	27.5	23.5	- 4.0
Black vs. Asian and Native American	34.7	22.0	-12.7
Hispanic vs. Asian and Native American	20.7	21.0	0.3

Table 11. Average Segregation between Minority Groups (all schools) by Size of School District: 1968 and 1976

Size of District	Black vs. Hispanic			Black vs. Asian and Native American			Hispanic vs. Asian and Native American		
	1968	1976	Change	1968	1976	Change	1968	1976	Change
<2,500	18.7	12.2	- 6.5	31.0	15.9	-15.1	29.6	21.6	- 8.0
2,500-4,999	31.0	21.0	-10.0	54.5	28.8	-25.5	28.8	21.4	- 7.4
5,000-9,999	34.5	26.2	- 8.3	57.1	28.7	-26.4	30.7	25.3	- 5.4
10,000-24,999	41.5	35.3	- 6.2	43.4	30.4	-13.0	31.2	28.6	- 2.6
25,000-99,999	54.7	48.1	- 6.6	56.8	42.5	-14.3	46.5	36.7	- 9.8
100,000 +	75.5	62.4	-13.1	76.4	53.2	-23.2	NA	NA	NA
Average	34.0	28.8	- 5.2	45.2	28.9	-16.3	31.4	26.4	- 5.0

respect to the extent of segregation between all these comparison groups. Minority groups were more highly segregated from each other in central cities than in suburban school districts, and within the former, blacks were slightly more segregated from Hispanics, and from Asians and Native Americans, than these groups were from each other.

School Segregation and the Distribution of Students

Average levels of school segregation computed over school districts do not give a complete picture of the magnitude of segregation experienced by students. Indeed, if students are disproportionately distributed across school districts, average segregation values can provide a distorted picture of the degree of segregation experienced by the average student. In this section, we provide a different perspective by focusing on the distribution of students by level of school segregation.

This distribution and the changes in it differ substantially with respect to ethnic group. In general, white and black students have been the major beneficiaries in the changing levels of school segregation (see Table 12). In 1976, the average white and black students were enrolled in school districts with segregation scores of 30 and 52 respectively during the 1968-76 period. Hispanics and Asian and Native Americans, on the other hand, in 1976 were enrolled in school districts with segregation scores of 49 and 41 respectively, representing little change in their pattern of concentration during the 1968-76 period. Blacks were the only group in which the level of school segregation encountered by the average student was still above 50 points in 1976.

The distribution of students (with the exception of Hispanics) shifted to districts with less segregation during the 1968-76 period. The number of students in school districts with segregation levels exceeding

Table [illegible] Cumulative Percentage Distribution of Student Populations by Level of School Segregation: 1976 and Change since 1968

Value of Index of Dissimilarity	Total		Whites		Black		Hispanic		Asian and Native American	
	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76
0-9	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
10-19	93.4	- 4.5	93.3	- 4.4	92.6	- 6.5	98.1	1.2	96.1	- 0.2
20-29	77.5	-13.7	75.2	-14.7	81.6	-15.5	89.0	- 0.8	82.7	- 2.8
30-39	56.9	-24.7	50.1	-28.0	68.8	-24.4	75.9	0.0	64.9	-10.0
40-49	41.5	-29.4	31.8	-33.3	60.3	-32.2	61.8	- 1.9	52.1	10.3
50-59	29.8	-30.7	19.1	-33.9	51.4	-36.8	50.1	0.0	18.1	19.5
60-69	20.5	-30.6	10.8	-31.7	42.5	-40.7	35.9	- 3.7	5.1	-20.2
70-79	8.1	-28.9	4.1	-25.8	29.9	-40.0	16.1	- 0.7	1.1	- 7.2
80-89	4.0	-18.1	1.6	-15.3	16.4	-33.9	0.0	- 0.1	0.9	- 6.3
90-100	0.0	- 7.9	0.0	- 5.7	6.2	-21.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	- 5.7
Median Values for Students	34.5	-26.4	30.0	-23.0	51.7	-28.5	49.0	- 1.3	40.6	- 4.4

69 points were 4.1% for whites, 30% for blacks, 16.1% for Hispanics, and only 1.1% for Asians and Native Americans. The decline in the percentage of students in school districts with high segregation levels was more substantial for blacks. For example, whereas 70% of black students were concentrated in districts with segregation scores greater than 70 in 1968, only 30% were so concentrated in 1976.

During the 1968-76 period, the movement of black and white students toward school districts with less segregation occurred primarily in the South (see Table 13). Among black students there was little difference between South and non-South in 1968 with respect to the concentration of black students by segregation level. However, during the 1968-76 period, there was a substantial reduction in the percentage of black students concentrated in school districts with high levels of school segregation in the South. Hence in 1976, only the non-South contained a majority of black students who were still concentrated in school districts with segregation levels exceeding 60 points.

Among whites in the South, the more substantial decline during the 1968-76 period in the percentage of students concentrated in districts with high segregation levels resulted in the elimination of the South/non-South differential. In both regions, the average white student was concentrated in districts with segregation levels of 30 points.

For school districts that were surveyed in both 1968 and 1976, it is possible to determine the magnitude of change in the concentration of students across levels of school segregation. Table 14 reports the distribution of black students according to changes in the level of segregation of school districts between 1968 and 1976. Note that the distribution of black students shifted to lower levels of segregation over

Table 13. Cumulative Percentage Distribution of Student Populations by Level of School Segregation and Region: 1976 and Change since 1968

Value of Index of Dissimilarity	Blacks				Whites			
	South		NonSouth		South		NonSouth	
	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76	1976	Change 1968-76
0-9	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
10-19	88.6	-10.5	98.8	0.0	90.6	- 7.7	96.9	9.4
20-29	73.3	-24.0	94.0	- 2.7	73.1	-21.0	78.1	1.4
30-39	55.9	-40.3	88.0	- 5.7	49.6	-39.8	51.5	- 7.5
40-49	45.2	-49.0	82.6	- 7.5	29.8	-51.3	34.5	- 7.5
50-59	35.0	-55.6	75.5	- 9.4	16.0	-53.3	23.2	- 6.5
60-69	27.0	-60.0	65.2	-12.4	7.0	-54.5	15.7	- 1.2
70-79	16.6	-65.4	49.4	- 3.9	3.9	-44.1	4.5	- 0.5
80-89	6.5	-61.5	30.9	5.1	0.6	-32.9	2.8	- 0.5
90-100	0.0	-34.8	15.2	- 2.7	0.0	-12.7	0.0	0.0
Median Value for Students	35.4	-40.0	69.6	- 1.6	29.8	-38.7	30.1	-11.4

Table 14. Percentage Distribution of Black Student Population Enrolled in School in 1976, by Level of School Segregation in 1968 and 1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Level of School Segregation	1976										Total Students (1976)
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-100	
1968											
0-9	72.9	22.8	2.7	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	36,741
10-19	36.5	45.7	17.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	77,596
20-29	8.9	40.2	34.2	7.9	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	73,558
30-39	11.2	28.5	25.3	31.3	3.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	128,051
40-49	10.4	21.6	19.6	27.7	19.9	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	222,496
50-59	6.9	11.4	18.1	13.8	17.1	27.1	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	268,784
60-69	1.6	7.7	12.3	3.7	8.4	5.4	14.1	46.8	0.0	0.0	940,532
70-79	3.4	9.2	10.8	5.7	7.7	10.2	22.5	3.2	27.3	0.0	1,220,434
80-89	4.6	10.5	16.9	9.6	8.8	11.2	16.4	10.2	6.7	5.1	1,356,053
90-100	9.2	7.4	6.9	7.6	7.3	8.6	7.9	13.2	12.4	19.4	1,603,848

the 1968-76 interval, as indicated by the relatively low percentages on the diagonal. Note also that shifts in student distributions were not limited to movement to adjacent levels. For example, students who were in districts with segregation levels of between 90 and 100 in 1968 were distributed across all levels of segregation in 1976. While the predominant trend is one of decline in the level of segregation encountered by black students, one can still note that a significant number of these students are still in districts with levels of segregation exceeding 60 points. The trends in the distribution of white students (not shown on table) between 1968 and 1976 parallel those for blacks, except that the shift toward lower levels of segregation was somewhat more extreme at higher levels.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROGRAMS AND TRENDS IN SCHOOL SEGREGATION

The previous section focused on an assessment of school segregation trends among white and minority student populations. In this section, further partitioning of trends is undertaken to determine whether and to what extent planned desegregation programs have affected the level of school segregation. In addition, we seek to determine (1) whether the school attendance patterns of individual ethnic student populations have been affected differentially by the implementation of desegregation programs, and (2) whether the effectiveness of desegregation programs in achieving reduction in school segregation levels varies by source of pressure to desegregate. In regard to the latter issue, it is generally believed that the implementation of desegregation programs under the aegis of the courts has been far more effective in redistributing students to achieve desegregated school systems than programs sponsored by administrative agencies. Below, an effort is made to provide additional

information on this important issue.

The analysis below is based on a smaller sample of school districts than those reported in previous sections. Specifically, attention focuses only on school districts that were included in the OCR survey in each year during the 1968-76 interval. Although the percentage representation of minority student populations in this analysis is less than that reported for the previous analysis, the districts included still contain the majority of these students. A more serious problem associated with basing the analysis on a constant set of districts is that we have eliminated a significant number of districts for which information on school desegregation activities was available. Some were eliminated because there were too few minority students present, while others were not included in one or more of the annual OCR surveys. (This applies particularly to those districts that had not implemented school desegregation programs.) In addition, the information on school desegregation is not minority-specific--although it permits identification of districts that have implemented desegregation programs, it does not identify the specific minority group(s) that was (were) the target of the program. One can speculate, based on initial levels of segregation and subsequent patterns of decline, that the distribution of black students among public schools was the major target of desegregation programs. In any event, the reader should keep this in mind in interpreting the results presented in the tables below.

Tables 15 through 17 give percentage distributions by desegregation status, region, major source of pressure to desegregate, and year of desegregation for school districts that have met a numerical criterion (described at the beginning of this paper) as applied to the student

Table 15. Desegregation Status of School Districts by Region and Percentage Distributions of Ethnic Groups in the Districts: 1968 and 1976

Desegregation Status and Region	Whites		Blacks		Hispanics		Asian and Native Americans	
	1968	1976	1968	1976	1968	1976	1968	1976
Total								
Desegregated	13.0%	52.2%	13.5%	53.4%	12.4%	48.3%	10.7%	51.3%
Status Unknown	38.3	38.3	38.7	38.7	27.3	27.3	23.2	23.2
Not Desegregated	48.7	9.6	47.8	7.9	60.2	24.3	66.1	25.4
Number of Districts	1,328 (100%)		1,273 (100%)		362 (100%)		224 (100%)	
South								
Desegregated	13.7	53.6	13.9	53.8	15.9	52.3	13.2	65.9
Status Unknown	42.0	42.0	42.2	42.2	36.9	36.9	26.4	26.4
Not Desegregated	44.3	4.4	43.9	4.0	47.2	20.8	60.4	7.7
Number of Districts	1,115 (100%)		1,099 (100%)		195 (100%)		91 (100%)	
Non-South								
Desegregated	9.4	44.6	10.9	51.1	8.4	43.7	9.0	41.4
Status Unknown	18.8	18.8	16.7	16.7	16.2	16.2	21.1	21.1
Not Desegregated	7.18	36.6	72.4	32.2	75.4	40.1	69.9	37.6
Number of Districts	213 (100%)		174 (100%)		167 (100%)		133 (100%)	

Table 16. Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate in Desegregated Districts by Percentage Distributions of Ethnic Groups among them: 1968-1976

Source of Pressure	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian and Native Americans
Courts	49.6%	50.6%	36.0%	44.3%
DHEW	19.2	19.1	14.9	10.4
State-Local	26.4	25.4	43.4	37.4
Others	4.8	4.9	5.7	7.8
Number of Districts	693 (100%)	680 (100%)	175 (100%)	115 (100%)

Table 17. Year of Desegregation of School Districts and Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups: 1965 to 1976

Year Desegregated	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asian and Native Americans
1965-67	12.7 %	12.8 %	16.6 %	13.0 %
1968	12.3	12.5	9.1	7.8
1969	19.0	19.3	5.7	10.4
1970	29.6	30.0	17.1	11.3
1971	11.3	18.9	18.3	24.3
1972	3.3	3.1	5.1	8.7
1973	4.8	4.6	12.0	10.4
1974	1.9	1.8	5.1	4.3
1975	2.9	2.8	4.6	1.7
1976	2.3	2.4	6.3	7.8
Number of Districts	693 (100%)	680 (100%)	175 (100%)	115 (100%)

population of each minority group. Slightly more than 50% of the school districts in this reduced sample have implemented some form of school desegregation program. This percentage no doubt would be much higher if it were possible to reclassify those districts in the "Desegregation Status Unknown" category.

A higher percentage of districts located in the South have implemented some form of desegregation program than in the non-South. Note also, however, that in the South the percentage of districts in the "Status Unknown" category is twice the number so designated in the non-South. This regional difference is consistent with the Rand Desegregation Survey conclusion that a higher percentage of districts located in the South simply refused to provide information on the extent of their involvement with school desegregation programs.

School districts containing significant numbers of blacks and of Asian and Native Americans (mainly the latter) were subjected more to pressures from courts (mainly federal) to desegregate their schools (Table 16). Desegregation programs that were either self-imposed by school districts or initiated at the urging of some state agency claimed the next highest percentage of school districts. Districts in the South were more likely to be subjected to pressures from the courts and HEW to desegregate their schools than non-South districts (not shown on table), and they were more likely to have implemented desegregation programs at an earlier point in time than non-South districts. In the aggregate, most districts that desegregated did so between 1969 and 1971 (Table 17).

By 1976, the majority of students in this sample were attending schools in districts that had implemented some form of desegregation program (see Table 18). This was particularly true in the South, where

over three-fourths of the white and black student populations and approximately two-thirds of Hispanic and the Asian and Native American student populations were in desegregated school districts (Table 18). As Table 19 indicates, the overwhelming majority of students were concentrated in school districts that had been subjected to court-ordered pressure to desegregate. The involvement of courts was greatest in those districts with large minority populations and in which local and/or state initiatives were simply not effective.

Impact of School Desegregation Programs

In this section, attention is focused on the extent of association between implementation of desegregation programs and the level of school segregation. It is reasonable to expect that the substantial decline in school segregation observed previously was a direct result of desegregation programs.

Table 20 presents average values indicating the extent of school segregation between white and black students, between white and Hispanic students, and between white and Asian and Native American students in 1968 and 1976, by desegregation status of school districts. A distinction in time period of desegregation is necessary owing to the absence of information on the level of segregation that prevailed in the districts before 1968 and after 1976. Districts in the "before 1969" category had already experienced significant changes before 1968, and those that desegregated in 1977-78 probably experienced some changes beyond the 1976 school year reflecting the year of implementation of their program. However, these are separated because available data do not extend beyond 1976.

Two observations can be made in regard to the trends exhibited in

Table 18. Percentage Distribution of Students in 1976 by Ethnic Group, Region, and Source of Pressure to Desegregate: 1968 and 1972

Region and Desegregation Status	Whites		Blacks		Hispanics		Asian and Native Americans	
	1968	1976	1968	1976	1968	1976	1968	1976
Total								
Desegregated	12.8%	67.3%	11.9%	66.2%	22.2%	53.6%	15.5%	47.4%
Status Unknown	15.1	16.8	18.4	18.1	12.6	12.5	19.2	18.8
Not Desegregated	72.0	15.9	69.7	15.7	65.2	34.0	65.2	33.8
Number of Students (in 000's)	11,500	9,590	5,518	5,745	1,307	1,782	178	288
Non-South								
Desegregated	15.3	50.2	19.2	49.9	30.9	48.1	17.1	43.6
Status Unknown	15.3	17.8	23.2	23.4	13.0	13.9	14.7	16.3
Not Desegregated	69.4	32.1	57.6	26.7	56.1	38.0	68.2	40.2
Number of Students (in 000's)	4,649	3,299	2,199	2,350	868	1,168	146	236
South								
Desegregated	1.2	76.3	7.1	77.4	5.1	63.6	8.6	64.9
Status Unknown	14.9	16.4	12.3	14.4	11.7	9.9	39.8	30.2
Not Desegregated	73.8	7.4	77.7	8.1	83.1	26.4	51.6	4.9
Number of Students (in 000's)	6,850	6,292	3,319	3,395	440	514	32	51

Table 19. Percentge Distribution of Students by Ethnic Group, Region, and Source of Pressure to Desegregate: 1976

Source of Pressure to Desegregate	Ethnic Group			
	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian and Native American
Non-South				
Courts	47.7%	68.9%	68.2%	59.8%
DHEW	1.7	2.0	0.1	0.0
State-School Board	45.7	26.3	29.3	37.1
Others	4.9	2.7	2.4	3.1
Number of Students (000's)	1,655	1,172	562	103
South				
Courts	68.8	74.7	61.1	62.7
DHEW	16.3	13.4	22.3	20.1
State-School Board	12.2	8.6	15.8	11.8
Others	2.7	3.3	0.8	5.4
Number of Students (000's)	4,799	2,629	390	33
Total U.S.				
Courts	63.4	72.9	65.3	60.5
DHEW	12.6	9.9	9.2	4.9
State-School Board	20.8	14.0	23.8	30.9
Others	3.3	3.1	1.8	3.7
Number of Students (000's)	6,454	3,801	952	136

Table 20. Trends in School Segregation Between White and Minority Student Populations by Desegregation Status: 1968 and 1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Desegregation Status	Whites vs. Blacks			Whites vs. Hispanics			Whites vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Desegregated									
Before 1969	51.1	23.2	-27.9	36.2	30.7	- 5.5	40.6	36.1	- 4.5
After 1968									
1969-1976	78.0	26.8	-51.2	43.4	35.0	- 8.4	45.9	34.6	-11.3
1977-1978[a]	70.0	51.1	-18.9	53.8	42.0	-11.8	45.5	40.4	- 5.1
Desegregation Status Unknown	59.4	17.8	-41.6	32.4	25.6	- 6.8	36.0	29.7	- 6.3
Never Desegregated	52.5	39.5	-13.0	39.1	36.4	- 2.7	36.8	31.9	- 4.9

[a]Extends beyond data set.

Table 20. First, the extent of segregation among whites and individual minority student populations declined in all categories during the 1968-76 interval. Second, declines in the level of segregation were greatest between white and black students. With regard to Hispanics and Asian and Native Americans, the lower initial levels of segregation and the slight declines during 1968-76 imply that the school-by-school distribution of students in these groups was probably not the target of desegregation programs. This is true despite the fact that these minority students were present in sufficient numbers in districts that did implement desegregation programs.

As one would expect, school districts that desegregated between 1969 and 1976 experienced the greatest amount of decline in segregation between blacks and whites (Table 20). School districts that desegregated before 1969 and after 1976 experienced modest declines in segregation levels. The 28-point decline experienced by districts that desegregated before 1969 implies that some of these districts may have implemented their desegregation programs in phases. Another possibility is that some of the districts in this category were incorrectly classified as having desegregated a year before they actually did.

The decline of almost 42 points in segregation between blacks and whites in districts for which no information on desegregation status was available confirms our suspicion that a substantial number of these districts did in fact desegregate. It can be noted that these districts not only had lower initial levels of segregation than districts that desegregated after 1968, but also had the lowest level of segregation in 1976. This lack of information on the desegregation experiences of these districts seriously limits our ability to give a complete picture of the

dynamics of school desegregation.

Among blacks, the impact of desegregation programs varied significantly by region and size of district (see Tables 21 and 22). Reductions in school segregation were greatest in the South and in small districts that implemented desegregation programs, particularly those that desegregated during the 1969-76 period. On the other hand, among districts that indicated that they had not desegregated, the largest decline in segregation occurred in the non-South and in the larger districts. The fact that significant declines were achieved by these districts implies that steps were taken to reduce levels of segregation, perhaps in anticipation of pressures to desegregate their schools.

The next issue to be addressed is whether the degree of reduction in school segregation levels is associated with sources of pressure to desegregate. The general perception is that court-ordered desegregation programs have been far more effective in reducing segregation levels than programs implemented at the urging of various administrative agencies, whether at the local, state, or federal level.

Table 23 presents trends in school segregation between white and the minority student populations by major source of pressure to desegregate. Among blacks, districts that desegregated under court pressure did indeed experience the greatest reduction in school segregation levels, although the amount of reduction experienced by districts that desegregated as a result of pressure from HEW was only 6 points less than that of the courts. It can also be noted that the courts were more active in districts with higher initial levels of school segreation than those subject to pressure from HEW, state, or local agencies, which raises the possibility that the courts may have been more effective in those

Table 21. Trends in School Segregation between White and Minority Student Populations by Desegregation Status and Region: 1968 and 1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Desegregation Status by Region	Whites vs. Blacks			Whites vs. Hispanics			Whites vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Non-South									
Total Desegregated									
Before 1969	39.3	22.1	-17.2	47.7	41.5	- 6.2	40.2	35.9	- 5.3
After 1968									
1969-1976	57.0	25.6	-31.4	44.1	34.5	- 9.6	40.0	31.2	- 8.8
1977-78	65.5	51.1	-14.4	51.4	42.6	- 8.8	45.7	40.2	- 5.5
Desegregation Status Unknown	60.4	16.0	-44.4	47.4	39.2	- 8.2	41.1	36.2	- 4.9
Never Desegregated	54.0	29.2	-24.8	38.1	35.7	- 2.4	36.4	31.1	- 5.3
South									
Total Desegregated									
Before 1969	52.6	23.2	-29.4	31.0	25.9	- 5.1	40.9	36.4	- 4.5
After 1968									
1969-1976	81.4	26.8	-54.6	42.9	35.5	- 7.4	51.3	37.6	-13.7
1977-1978	76.2	51.1	-25.1	59.1	40.6	-18.5	44.9	40.8	- 4.1
Desegregation Status Unknown	59.4	17.8	-41.6	26.8	20.5	- 6.3	30.0	22.1	- 7.9
Never Desegregated	50.7	39.5	-11.2	42.8	38.9	- 3.9	40.6	39.3	- 1.3

Table 22. Trends in School Segregation between White and Minority Student Populations by Desegregation Status and Size of District: 1968 and 1976 (Index of dissimilarity)

Desegregation Status by Size of District	Whites vs. Blacks			Whites vs. Hispanics			Whites vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
<10,000									
Total Desegregated									
Before 1969	48.4	17.6	-30.8	27.3	20.5	- 6.8	29.5	35.2	-5.7
After 1968									
1969-1976	80.0	19.2	-60.8	30.8	21.5	- 9.3	37.4	26.3	-11.1
1977-1978	68.8	25.9	-42.9	28.2	19.1	- 9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Desegreagtion Status Unknown	58.6	15.4	-43.2	25.5	18.4	- 7.1	30.9	26.0	- 4.9
Never Desegregated	46.4	30.2	-16.2	31.9	29.4	- 2.5	33.8	29.2	- 4.6
10,000 +									
Total Desegregated									
Before 1969	59.3	37.8	-21.5	47.3	40.5	- 6.8	44.3	36.1	- 8.2
After 1968									
1969-1976	74.7	39.5	-35.2	48.3	40.2	- 8.1	47.5	34.6	-12.9
1977-1978	70.5	60.1	-10.4	55.9	43.9	-12.0	45.5	40.4	- 5.1
Desegregation Status Unknown	66.9	43.8	-23.1	50.8	43.0	- 7.8	41.9	29.7	-12.2
Never Desegregated	58.2	48.2	-30.0	44.8	42.2	- 2.6	38.9	31.9	- 7.0

Table 23. 1968 and 1976 Levels of School Segregation between White and Minority Students in Districts that Desegregated between 1969 and 1976, by Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate (index of dissimilarity)

Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate	Blacks vs. Whites			Whites vs. Hispanics			Whites vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Courts	84.9	28.7	-56.2	49.7	42.2	- 7.5	52.3	38.1	-14.2
DHEW	71.7	22.0	-49.7	32.7	26.2	- 6.5	34.7	29.3	- 5.4
State-Local	65.2	24.5	-40.7	39.5	29.6	- 9.9	39.5	30.6	- 8.9
Others	70.8	42.5	-38.4	48.2	36.8	-11.4	41.8	32.7	- 9.1

districts in which resistance to desegregation was greatest.

A further partitioning by region and size of districts that desegregated provides some additional insights into the association between sources of pressure to desegregate and reduction in segregation levels (see Tables 24 and 25). A significant portion of the differences in declining school segregation levels among blacks and whites noted between districts subjected to court-ordered pressure versus other sources of pressure reflect size of district and regional differences in source of pressure to desegregate. In the South and among smaller districts, differences in reduction of segregation levels varied between 51 and 56 points, indicating little difference in the effect of source of pressure to desegregate. In the non-South, reduction in segregation in districts subjected to pressure from HEW or the courts was twice as great as that experienced by districts that desegregated by state or local initiative. A similar trend, although not as dramatic, can be observed for the larger districts, except that districts subjected to court-ordered pressure experienced significantly greater reductions in segregation than districts that desegregated under pressure from HEW. Finally, it should be noted that within the partitions of region and size of district, court pressure to desegregate is consistently associated with districts that had significantly higher levels of school segregation at the beginning of the 1968-76 period.

To summarize, four conclusions emerge from the results presented thus far. First, among blacks, the implementation of school desegregation programs did result in substantial reductions in segregation levels, particularly in the South and in smaller districts. Second, source of pressure to desegregate had less effect on reductions in segregation in

Table 24. 1968 and 1976 Levels of Segregation between White and Minority Students in Districts that Desegregated between 1969 and 1976, by Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate within Regions (index of dissimilarity)

Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate by Region	Whites vs. Blacks			Whites vs. Hispanics			Whites vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Non-South									
Courts	64.5	29.3	-35.2	49.0	39.5	- 9.5	42.4	30.3	-12.1
DHEW	55.7	26.3	-39.4	36.8	31.4	- 5.4	NA	NA	NA
State-Local	53.6	36.1	-17.5	41.4	32.0	- 9.4	38.4	31.1	- 7.3
Others	55.5	37.4	-18.1	48.2	36.8	-11.4	41.0	34.3	- 6.7
South									
Courts	83.4	28.7	-55.7	50.0	43.3	- 6.7	56.3	41.2	-15.1
DHEW	72.2	21.8	-50.4	32.5	25.9	- 6.6	34.7	29.3	- 5.4
State-Local	72.7	17.1	-55.6	32.7	21.0	-11.7	48.7	26.5	-22.2
Others	81.0	29.1	51.9	NA	NA	NA	43.9	28.6	-15.3

Table 25. 1968 and 1976 Levels of Segregation between White and Minority Students in Districts that Desegregated between 1969 and 1976, by Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate in Large and Small Districts (index of dissimilarity)

Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate by Size of District	Whites vs. Blacks			Whites vs. Hispanics			Whites vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
<10,000									
Court	87.8	21.7	-56.1	39.9	29.6	-10.3	47.9	43.4	- 4.5
DHEW	71.7	15.7	-56.0	25.1	17.5	- 7.6	31.5	19.6	-11 9
State-Local	67.4	15.4	-52.0	31.3	20.6	-10.7	37.8	18.5	-19.5
Others	79.1	24.3	-54.8	37.3	23.4	-13.9	17.7	16.6	- 1.1
10,000 +									
Court	80.6	39.2	-41.4	50.6	43.7	- 6.9	52.7	37.4	-15.3
DHEW	71.7	39.4	-32.3	44.3	34.9	- 9.4	37.3	37.1	- 0.2
State-Local	61.9	39.9	-22.0	44.3	34.9	- 9.4	39.9	33.4	- 6.5
Others	62.5	42.4	-20.1	53.6	50.3	- 3.3	45.9	39.1	- 6.8

the South and in smaller districts, since all districts in these categories average about a 53-point reduction in segregation (see Tables 24-25). Third, districts with higher initial levels of segregation were more often the target of court-ordered pressure to desegregate.

The final conclusion relates to the absence of significant effects of desegregation programs on levels of segregation observed among Hispanics and among Asian and Native Americans. Apparently, because of the lower initial levels of segregation between these minority groups and whites, school districts either did not feel compelled to attempt further reductions, or (as in the case of Asian and Native Americans in the South) the amount of reduction needed to achieve desirable levels of segregation was not very great. In any event, one of the main consequences of focusing desegregation efforts during the 1968-76 period on the reduction of segregation experienced by black students is that in 1976 black students were somewhat less segregated from whites than members of the other three minority groups, if one looks at average values for school districts.

Year of Desegregation

The information on school desegregation activities utilized in the previous section is related to the year in which the most extensive desegregation plan was implemented. Below, we make use of the information on year of implementation to determine whether most of the declines in school segregation between black and white students occurred during the year that the most extensive plan was implemented. Most efforts designed to assess the effect of school desegregation programs on white enrollment levels assume that the largest amount of change occurred during the year of desegregation. The question of whether this assumption is applicable

in explaining changes in school segregation levels is complicated by other considerations not previously addressed.

Some school districts have been subjected to several sources of pressure to desegregate their schools prior to (and even after) the implementation of their major plan. Indeed, one may think of the implementation of a major plan as a culmination of previous efforts to desegregate a district. Some districts implemented their most extensive plans in phases; one would therefore expect to observe significant changes over a period of several years. Finally, the incorrect specification of the year in which the major plan was implemented may also distort the average amount of change observed in a group of districts in a given year. The relevance of either of these possibilities could compromise efforts to identify the period in which an unusual amount of change occurred regardless of whether segregation or enrollment levels are at issue.

Table 26 reports trends in school segregation between black and white students by region and year of desegregation. In the South, we note that districts that desegregated between 1969 and 1972 experienced the most significant changes in segregation levels, whereas in non-South regions, districts that desegregated in 1969, 1970, 1971, 1975, and 1976 experienced the most change during the 1968-76 period. In non-South regions there is a much greater correspondence between the total amount of change in segregation levels which occurred during the entire 1968-76 period and the amount of change which occurred during the year in which a major plan was implemented. In contrast, in the South, only in those districts that desegregated in 1969 and 1970 did the largest amount of change occur during the year of desegregation. From this data one can

Table 26. Changes in Level of School Segregation between Black and White Students by Region and Year of Desegregation: 1968-1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Year of Desegregation	Total				South				NonSouth			
	1976	Change 1968-1976	Year of Desegregation	Number of Districts	1976	Change 1968-1976	Year of Desegregation	Number of Districts	1976	Change 1968-1976	Year of Desegregation	Number of Districts
1965-67	23.8	-21.4	NA	87	22.0	-23.9	NA	76	36.4	- 4.0	NA	11
1968	22.6	-34.5	NA	85	21.1	-37.0	NA	77	27.5	-10.3	NA	8
1969	21.6	-56.6	-23.8	131	21.7	-56.8	-30.4	128	23.2	-26.0	-12.1	3
1970	26.6	-58.1	-24.2	204	26.3	-59.6	-45.3	195	32.6	-26.3	-21.7	9
1971	29.6	-47.1	-24.9	74	29.5	-52.3	-23.5	61	30.5	-21.9	-16.7	13
1972	27.1	-42.0	-17.5	21	20.6	-55.5	-13.6	13	37.8	-20.1	-10.1	8
1973	35.5	-29.3	- 8.9	31	35.0	-36.0	-12.8	19	36.4	-18.6	- 2.8	12
1974	37.2	-21.1	- 5.9	12	42.8	-22.6	-10.1	5	33.2	-20.8	- 7.7	7
1975	27.3	-42.6	-17.8[1]	19	26.3	-48.4	-21.5[a]	14	30.0	-26.7	-13.8[1]	5
1976	35.8	-26.8	-16.2	16	27.2	-21.5	- 9.5	3	37.8	-27.9	-21.4	13
1977-78	51.1	-18.9	NA	19	51.1	-25.1	NA	8	51.1	-14.4	NA	11

[a] For desegregation in 1975, changes during the year of desegregated cover a two-year period.

infer that many of the southern school districts began to experience significant changes in segregation levels as early as two years prior to the implementation of a major plan, hence raising the possibility that the reduction of segregation levels during year of implementation was a culmination of previous efforts to reduce segregation to acceptable levels. The greater correspondence between total change and the amount of change which occurred during the year of desegregation for non-South districts may be due to the lower initial levels of segregation and the fact that the average amount of total change which occurred was considerably less than that which occurred in southern school districts.

Further analysis of the association between total change and change that occurred during the year in which a major plan was implemented by major source of pressure to desegregate is presented in Table 27. Districts that were subjected to court-ordered desegregation experienced the largest reduction in school segregation during the 1968-76 period for each year in which desegregation plans were implemented, except in 1970 when districts subjected to pressures from HEW experienced slightly larger reductions. Of particular interest, however, is the fact that only in 1969 and 1970 is most of the reduction in segregation that occurred during the 1968-76 period associated with the year of implementation of a major plan for each of the major sources of pressure categories. Similar correspondence can be observed for districts under court pressure to desegregate in 1971 and 1976, in 1974 for districts under HEW pressure, and in 1975 and 1976 for those under state and local pressure to desegregate.

Table 27. Trends in School Segregation between Blacks and Whites by Year of Implementation of Desegregation Program and Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate: 1968-1976 (Index of dissimilarity)

Major Source of Pressure	1968		Change		1969		Change		1970		Change	
	1968	1976	1968-76	% Year of Deseg	1968	1976	1968-76	% Year of Deseg	1968	1976	1968-76	% Year of Deseg
Courts	72.2	23.3	-58.9	NA	85.5	22.1	-63.4	-33.1	88.2	29.8	-58.4	-43.6
DHEW	48.4	20.8	-27.6	NA	69.1	22.8	-46.3	-23.4	80.2	18.9	-61.3	-48.7
State-Local	51.1	23.6	-27.5	NA	66 9	16.7	-50.2	-31.5	74.0	19.3	-54.7	-44.3
Other	42.6	18.2	-24.4	NA	80.7	20.3	-60.4	-13.0	84.0	35.5	-48.5	-31.9
Total	57.1	22.6	-34.5	NA	77.8	21.2	-56.6	-30.0	84.7	26.6	-58.1	-44.2
	1971				1972				1973			
Courts	84.7	32.1	-52.6	-31.1	71.8	18.1	-53.7	-21.8	76.2	40.0	-36.2	-11.8
DHEW	66.0	19.3	-46.7	- 3.6	68.7	29.1	-39.6	-14.1	42.8	17.8	-25.0	-11.3
State-Local	60.4	29.1	-31.3	- 6.9	64.4	32.9	-31.5	- 3.7	54.8	32.6	-22.2	- 6.2
Other	35.2	29.2	- 6.0	- 3.1	77.8	37.6	-40.2	- 5.8	45.0	26.0	-19.0	- 1.5
Total	76.7	29.7	-47.0	-22.3	69.1	27.2	-41.9	-12.3	64.8	35.5	-29.3	- 8.9
	1974				1975 [a]				1976			
Courts	73.8	39.9	-33.9	- 9.3	74.1	29.8	-44.3	-21.3	67.3	32.9	-34.4	-25.5
DHEW	57.6	38.1	-19.5	-12.5	63.2	17.5	-45.7	-14.9	54.9	37.0	-17.9	- 4.0
State-Local	49.6	34.8	-14.8	- 5.5	65.6	23.1	-42.5	-21.4	60.3	39.1	-21.2	-16.4
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	69.4	52.2	-17.2	- 6.0	66.0	33.9	-32.1	-28.4
Total	58.3	37.2	-21.1	- 8.9	69.9	27.3	-42.6	-19.5	62.6	35.8	-26.8	-19.2

[a] Change during year of desegregation covers a two-year period.

Segregation between Individual Minority Group Populations

Previous results clearly indicate that reduction in school segregation between black and white students was the primary goal of most school desegregation programs. This emphasis no doubt was due to the fact that black public school students were more segregated from whites than students of the other minority groups. In a previous section it was noted that levels of school segregation between individual minority student populations experienced modest declines during the 1968-76 period, particularly that observed between blacks and Asian and Native Americans. Below, we seek to determine whether these declines in segregation levels were associated with the implementation of desegregation programs. Although changes in the level of segregation between whites and the nonblack minority student populations appear to have been only slightly responsive to the implementation of desegregation programs, efforts to reduce the extent of segregation between blacks and whites could have altered the degree to which blacks were segregated from students of other minority groups.

Table 28 presents trends in school segregation among minority student populations by desegregation status. The level of segregation between blacks and Hispanics, and between blacks and Asian and Native Americans declined significantly in districts that desegregated between 1968 and 1976. Declines of similar magnitude also occurred in districts included in the "Desegregation Status Unknown" category. On the other hand, the slight changes in the degree of segregation between Hispanics and Asian and Native Americans do not appear to have been associated with the implementation of desegregation programs.

A further classification of school districts according to regions

Table 28. Changes in Level of School Segregation among Minority Student Populations by Desegregation Status: 1968 and 1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Desegregation Status	Black vs. Hispanic			Black vs. Asian and Native American			Hispanic vs. Asian and Native American		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Desegregated									
Before 1969	37.4	30.4	- 7.0	58.1	45.8	-12.3	36.8	32.0	- 4.8
After 1968									
1969-1976	62.9	40.9	-22.0	71.6	44.8	-26.8	38.0	31.1	- 6.9
1977-1978	58.8	52.0	- 6.8	72.2	64.0	- 8.2	35.0	39.6	4.6
Desegregation Status Unknown	40.1	24.1	-16.0	61.9	34.3	-27.6	32.6	30.3	- 2.3
Never Desegregated	42.1	37.5	- 4.6	50.4	41.0	- 9.4	25.3	22.3	- 3.0

indicates similar trends. Moreover, the declines in segregation between blacks and the other two categories of minority groups were greatest in the South (see Table 29). Desegregation programs implemented under the aegis of the court, HEW, and state or local agencies were also associated with significant reductions in the segregation between blacks and the other minority groups (see Table 30).

In sum, while the declines in the segregation of black students from other minority students are less than those reported between blacks and whites, they are very much consistent with the observation that reduction in the racial isolation of black students has been the major goal of school desegregation programs. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that reductions in segregation levels among whites, Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans occurred as a result of efforts to reduce the level of segregation encountered by black students.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Segregation between whites and minority groups, as measured in this paper, experienced a 50% decline between 1968 and 1976. Virtually all of this decline reflected changes in levels of public school segregation among white and black students. The decline was greatest in the South and in smaller school districts. In 1976, large districts, particularly those in and around central cities, were the only geographic divisions in which school segregation among blacks and whites still exceeded 50 points on our scale of 0 to 100. The slight decline in segregation between whites, Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans (considered as one minority category) was probably due to the lower initial level of separation between these groups.

Among minority groups, segregation between blacks and Asian and

Table 29. Changes in Level of School Segregation among Minority Student Populations by Desegregation Status and Region: 1968 and 1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Desegregation Status by Region	Black vs. Hispanic			Black vs. Asian and Native American			Hispanic vs. Asian and Native American		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Non-South									
Desegregated									
Before 1969	44.0	40.4	- 3.6	51.3	47.0	- 4.3	35.1	31.5	- 3.6
After 1968									
1969-1976	49.4	37.1	-12.3	59.0	40.7	-18.3	34.1	27.5	- 6.6
1977-1978	51.0	46.6	- 4.4	66.0	58.3	- 8.7	46.7	48.3	- 8.6
Desegregation Status Unknown	50.9	43.1	- 7.8	57.4	48.4	- 9.0	36.6	35.1	- 1.5
Never Desegregated	43.8	37.6	- 6.2	50.3	40.0	-10.3	24.3	20.8	- 3.5
South									
Before 1969	34.7	26.2	- 8.5	64.2	44.7	-19.5	43.4	34.3	- 9.1
After 1968									
1969-1976	74.4	44.2	-30.2	82.1	48.2	-33.9	43.7	36.3	- 7.4
1977-1978	76.3	64.3	-12.0	90.7	81.4	- 9.3	30.0	43.7	13.7
Desegregation Status Unknown	36.6	18.1	-18.5	65.3	23.8	-21.5	22.1	17.7	- 5.4
Never Desegregated	36.7	37.0	0.3	50.8	46.9	- 4.9	35.6	37.4	1.8

Table 30. Changes in Level of School Segregation Among Minority Student Populations by Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate for Districts that Desegregated between 1969 and 1976: 1968 and 1976 (index of dissimilarity)

Major Source of Pressure to Desegregate	Blacks vs. Hispanics			Blacks vs. Asian and Native Americans			Hispanics vs. Asian and Native Americans		
	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change	1968	1976	1968-76 Change
Courts	75.3	50.3	-25.0	80.4	49.4	-31.0	43.1	37.7	- 5.4
DHEW	62.7	30.8	-31.9	65.8	36.4	-29.4	38.1	22.2	-15.9
State-Local	47.5	32.6	-14.9	60.7	38.9	-21.8	31.9	23.1	- 8.8
Others	39.1	30.6	- 8.5	56.3	44.2	-12.1	24.8	26.6	1.8

Native Americans (mainly the latter) also declined significantly. Most of this decline occurred in the South in districts of all sizes.

Although the average level of school segregation between whites and individual minority groups was less than 25 in 1976, the average minority student is still concentrated in districts with segregation levels exceeding 40. For example, the average black, Hispanic, and Asian and Native American pupils were concentrated in districts with segregation levels of 52, 49, and 41 respectively in 1976. The level of segregation encountered by the average black child declined by 29 points between 1968 and 1976, while the experiences of Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans remained virtually unchanged. Thus the major beneficiaries of the declining level of school segregation were black and white students attending school in the South.

The majority of pupils in 1976 were concentrated in districts that had implemented some form of desegregation programs. It should be emphasized, however, that this applies only to those districts that had significant numbers of minorities and were surveyed by the Office of Civil Rights annually since 1968. Most of the districts that desegregated did so between 1969 and 1971, with the majority being subjected to court-ordered pressure to desegregate.

School districts subjected to pressure to desegregate did experience significant declines in segregation levels between 1969 and 1976 compared to districts that were not pressured. Among blacks, the decline was substantial, from a level of 78 in 1968 to 27 in 1976. Most of this decline occurred in the South and in smaller districts. The small declines observed for Hispanics and for Asian and Native Americans probably reflect the lower initial levels that existed between these

groups and whites. In any event, the concentration of desegregation activities on the extent of segregation between blacks and whites reduced the extent of isolation among members of these groups significantly more than between whites, Hispanics, and Asian and Native Americans in districts that desegregated between 1968 and 1976. This conclusion is based on the average segregation values for school districts. It is true, as indicated previously, that black students are still the most segregated of all ethnic groups.

Among blacks, source of pressure to desegregate had less effect on reductions in segregation in the South and in small districts, since all districts in these categories averaged about a 53-point decline in segregation. In the non-South, the courts--followed by HEW, and district/state initiatives--were more effective in reducing segregation levels. In addition, districts with higher initial levels of segregation were more often the target of court-ordered pressure to desegregate, and the courts were more effective in reducing segregation levels. A possible interpretation of these results is that state and local initiatives involved less reliance on minority/white student reassignment plans.

NOTES

1. The regional classifications used in this paper correspond to those of the Census, except for the South. Southern states are identified according to whether black and white students were segregated according to legal codes prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Within the South, states are further divided according to whether they are (1) border states--Missouri, Kansas, Delaware, Maryland, D.C., West Virginia, and Kentucky; (2) East South Central--Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Florida; and (3) West South Central--Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

2. The classification of schools into elementary and secondary was determined as follows:

A. Elementary Schools

1. All schools with grade ranges of less than 7, and having at least one grade within the 1-6 range.

2. All schools with at least 3 or more grades in the 1-6 range.

B. Secondary Schools

1. All schools that are not defined as elementary using the above definitions, and not exclusively a prekindergarten, kindergarten, ungraded, special education, vocational (technical), or some combination of these (e.g., having no 1-12 grades present).

It should be noted that the designation of schools as elementary or secondary is subject to annual variation within school districts, because of changes in grade structure of individual schools, and reporting and recoding errors.

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